



THE IRISH REPUBLIC.

A

HISTORICAL MEMOIR

ON

IRELAND AND HER OPPRESSORS.

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PREFACE.

The object of the author in presenting this volume to the public, has been to give in one volume a condensed sketch of the wrongs, grievances and misgovernment of Ireland under British despotism, the colonial tyrants of the pale, and the tyrannical landlords of Ireland. To place before the world the wrongs of Ireland, under British despotism and misrule, since the time of Henry II. to the present. Those who have neither time nor opportunity to read the standard works on Ireland, will, the author hopes, find in this volume an interesting outline of the political history of Ireland from the early ages to the present; and those who have read the standard histories of Ireland will find this volume a useful and convenient manual as a book of reference. This volume has been carefully compiled from the most approved standard authors, ancient and modern, lay and clerical. The author has, in some instances, given the exact language of the authors themselves. This, he presumes, will give more satisfaction to his readers. The author confidently hopes that this volume will be welcomed by every Irish patriot; and that Irishmen in the United States will send it to their friends in Ireland, England, Scotland, the British Possessions, and Australia.

APRIL, 1871.

DEDICATION.

TO

IRISH PATRIOTS, STATESMEN, WARRIORS,
AND EXILES;

AND TO THE MEMORY OF THE IMMORTAL DEAD,

WHO FOUGHT FOR THE

LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE OF IRELAND,

THIS BOOK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION.

Ireland has been known to the ancients. The Phœnicians made frequent voyages to Ireland, in remote ages. At a very early period of the world's history, Ireland was known to the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans. In the early ages it was known to the pagan world as the *Sacred Island*, and as the chief seat of the *Druids*. The people of Ireland in all ages were distinguished for their valor, hospitality and generosity, as well as for the eminent learning of the bards in pagan times—and for piety, learning and christianity in modern times. In the days when Europe was enveloped in darkness and ignorance, Ireland was known to the world as the *Isle of Saints*.

But the great source of Ireland's weakness, and of those sad divisions which agitated and weakened the Irish people, resulted from their form of government. After the Milesians got possession of Ireland, they at first divided the country into two rival kingdoms, and afterwards into five kingdoms. Those five kingdoms were governed by one monarch. Both the monarch and the provincial kings were elected from certain great ruling families. This stimulated ambition, jealousy, envy and rivalry among the branches of the families of the ruling princes of the provinces, as well as a strife among the provincial kings for the high dignity—that of monarch of Ireland. From this source we may trace the countless wars in Ireland between rival

kings and provinces, which devastated the country and divided and weakened the nation. Had the Irish people been united under one ruler, as one united nation, with the rulers elected from the people, as in the United States, they could not be conquered by Danes, Normans or Saxons !

Another source of the weakness of Ireland was, that she had not contended with foreign foes before the invasion of the Danes. The Irish were unacquainted with the Roman mode of fighting within walled towns; their battles were fought in the open field. The fate of their kings generally rested on the result of one of their pitched battles in hand-to-hand fighting; consequently, they were unacquainted with sieges. The Norman invaders took advantage of the divisions and mutual rival jealousy of the Irish kings and princes. Had these princes been united they could not be conquered by the Norman invaders. The government of England did not try to unite the people of Ireland, native or Saxon. But she done all in her power to prevent the English of the pale from uniting with the old Irish inhabitants, for she dreaded that the old Irish and the new English settlers would become one people, that in a few years could defy the government of England; for the descendants of the first Norman invaders, in many instances, had united with the old Irish by marriage, and had become "*more Irish than the Irish themselves.*" To prevent this union, the English government sent, from time to time, over to Ireland English officers to govern the pale. In this manner the authorities of the pale became the jailers of the colony. In this manner England created a gulf of hate between the "*colony bred men*" and the old Irish natives. But in the times of Henry VIII., Elizabeth and

Cromwell, Catholic and Protestant became the line of demarcation between the Irish!

In the reign of William III. the Catholics were excluded from the Irish parliament. In this reign and that of Queen Anne, the Catholics, under the terrors of the penal code, were put outside of the pale of the laws; they were excluded from all offices, civil and military. They had no voice in the government—they were excluded from the legal profession—they could not own real estate. They were denied the free exercise of their religion, and were not allowed to be educated. In short, they had no rights, under the laws, which the government or the colonial tyrants would respect. This was the condition of the Catholic Irish during the terrors of the penal code. Ireland was governed by a mere contemptible minority. This petty faction held a monopoly of church and state—the purse and the sword. Ireland was doomed to suffer in the sunshine of British prosperity, when the British flag triumphed over the seas of the world. But in the hour of British discomfiture, when the British flag was pulled down at Saratoga, then, and only until then, did the colonial jailers relax the odious penal code, when they granted the first Catholic relief bill, in 1778, which gave the Catholics a right to lease lands for a term of 999 years. The second Catholic relief bill was granted in 1782, which gave Catholics the right to open Catholic schools in Ireland, and to acquire freehold estates. The third Catholic relief bill was passed in 1793, which gave Catholics the right to hold offices in the army as high as colonel, as also the right to practice in the courts; it also extended to Catholics the elective franchise. These relief bills stimulated

the Catholics to agitate for Catholic emancipation. The agitation for emancipation stimulated the agitation for the repeal of the union. The "Repealers" gave birth to the "*Young Ireland*" party of '48. And the agitation of "'48" promoted the Fenian organization.

This opposition to England from generation to generation under one name or other, has gained for Ireland many concessions from the government of England. But the Fenian organization in Ireland, England, and the United States, and the Clerkenwell prison explosion, so terrified the British oligarchy that they consented to the disendowment of the "Irish Church establishment"—the death of the tithes. During the Franco-Prussian war England passed an act, a mere apology for a "*tenant right bill*," in 1870. Thus, step by step, Ireland gained one concession after another during England's difficulties. In this manner Ireland will eventually gain her independence!

The liberal Democrats of England should unite with the Irish patriots and abolish the House of Lords, and make all officers in the government elective, as in the United States. The next step should be to demolish both royalty and nobility. After this the people would soon establish an English Republic. And the English people should give Ireland her liberty, and be one of the first nations to recognize the Irish Republic. Let them do this, and Irishmen will forget the dark deeds of the past.

The Irish, in every clime, should keep up the agitation for the freedom of Ireland until Ireland is free—until the world beholds the Irish Republic!!!

A HISTORICAL MEMOIR

ON

IRELAND AND HER OPPRESSORS.

CHAPTER I.

IRELAND BEFORE THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

The falsehoods of the English historians of the pale—Lying Cambrensis—His attempt to cast doubt and ridicule on the ancient history of Ireland—Manuscripts in the Irish language date back before the christian era—The falsehoods of Hume and Gibbon—Glory and greatness of the Irish nation—Her progress in arts and sciences—Ancient Irish writings—The learning of the Druids—The round towers—Druidic altars—Ancient Irish architecture—Irish civilization—Colonial task-masters—Ireland the instructress of Europe—Partholan—Ireland discovered before the deluge—The ancient names of Ireland—The natives—When and by whom Ireland was settled—The Milesian race—Progress of civilization under the Milesian kings—The reign of *Ollam Fodla*—The conventions of Tara—Seminaries of learning—The Druids—Bards and Brehons—The equity of the Brehon laws.

The English historians of the pale, since the time of the lying Cambrensis, have studiously endeavored to cast doubt and ridicule on the ancient history of Ireland. They tell us that the Irish, before the time of St. Patrick, were cruel, ignorant, and barbarous. That they were unlettered.

They make the bold and sweeping assertion that the Irish were unacquainted with the use of letters previous to the introduction of Latin letters by the Apostle of Ireland, yet we have several manuscripts in the Irish language, which date back before the Christian era. They also tell us that the historical accounts of the venerable Irish historians—the O'Connors, O'Halloran, Vallancey, O'Flaherty, and Keating, are the mere fictions of the Irish bards—tales of a vainglorious people. Even the eminent historians of England, Hume and Gibbon, have copied the lying fictions and wholesale and unfounded slanderous assertions of the partisan historians of the pale. They unblushingly tell us that Ireland owes her civilization to England. That the records and researches of the Irish historians should be rejected. Unfortunately for Irishmen, the writings of English historians are taken for good authority in the United States. So the history of Ireland is read through the medium of prejudiced British historians.

Now, let us for a moment consider how we can prove the authenticity of the ancient history of Ireland, even without written evidence, but from the monuments of arts, sciences, and architecture, which we find in Ireland. How futile it would be to deny the ancient civilization of Egypt, Greece or Rome. Can we obliterate, by a mere stroke of the pen, the Egyptian pyramids, subterranean temples, artificial lakes, the Sphinx, and the monuments of arts and sciences? Could the remains of the ancient palaces, temples and aqueducts of Rome be obliterated by mere assertion? How, then, could the lying historians, the colonial historians, and English partisan writers, doubt of the ancient fame, glory, and greatness of the Irish nation—her

progress in the arts and sciences. Such assertions are malicious falsehoods. The Irish historian is verified by the ancient writings found in old Irish manuscripts; the great learning of the Druids; the monuments of ancient arts and sciences. We can, notwithstanding the vile aspersions and falsehoods of Hume and Macaulay, proudly point to the living monuments of Ireland's ancient greatness, and fame, and glory. We behold with laudable pride the round towers, Druidic altars, ruined, ivy-clad castles, churches and palaces—lying historians to the contrary, notwithstanding!

Let any dispassionate and unprejudiced mind travel through Ireland, and behold her ancient architecture, of Egyptian style, and then doubt of the ancient grandeur, glory, greatness, and civilization of Ireland! The ancient and venerable monuments of our dear fatherland refute the slanders of British and colonial writers!

The mean understanding of the colonial task-masters, conceived that the only way to subdue Ireland, was first to rob her of her wealth and lands, to wield over her a rod of iron, and then to blacken her character as a justification of their tyrannical conduct. Those colonial usurpers and invaders could never feel secure in their ill-gotten possessions until all traces of the ancient glory and fame of Ireland was obliterated; for they well knew that Irishmen, in all climes, at all times and places, would cherish a fond and laudable veneration for that country which, for centuries, was the instructress of Europe—the immortal island of saints. The Irish can look back with pride and emotion on her long list of monarchs, two thousand years before the accursed Norman invasion!

It is true that the ancient history of all nations reaches

back into obscurity, yet some Irish historians prove, beyond cavil, that Ireland was discovered before the Deluge. They give us a list of kings, such as Partholan and his sons. We read of the Numidians, the Firbolgs, and the gigantic Fomerians, and the Tuatha de Danans. Ireland has been known by the names of Hibernia, Inisfail, Erin, Erne, Iris, Jerna, Juernia, Iren, Juverna, Insula Sacra, and Scotia. The Goths called it Ireland, on account of the fierce and warlike spirit of the people—for the warlike and martial spirit of the people, ancient and modern, has met with universal approbation all over the world!

Some Irish historians tell us that Ireland was first settled by the Scythians: others tell us that it was first discovered by the Phœnicians—some assert that Ireland was first discovered by the Egyptians, Greeks, and Gauls. But certain it is that the Milesians, under Heber, Heremon and Ith, gave Ireland a race of kings who reigned for two thousand years. They had full possession of Ireland down to the time of Henry the Second. Under the government of the Milesian kings, Ireland advanced in the arts and sciences, poetry, music, agriculture, refinement and civilization.

Those Milesians had with them laborers and mechanics, who, with such of the natives as remained after the Milesians got control of the Island, became the plebeians, with whom the Milesians did not intermarry, as they considered the Firbolgs and Tuatha de Danans as an inferior race. Thus the Milesian race became the rulers of the country. They were the nobility.

In the reign of *Ollam Fodla*, triennial conventions were held at Tara, in Meath, composed of kings, bards, and priests. This celebrated monarch instituted seminaries of

learning in various parts of the nation, whose missionaries spread the knowledge of christianity over Europe. The Druids were the most important personages. They were the principal bards and brehons, or judges; they administered the laws in the spirit of equity. The brehon laws were in force until they were abolished by King John, within the scope of the pale. The decisions of those venerable and time-honored Druids were deemed sacred by kings and warriors—for the Irish, in all ages, held poets and men of learning in great esteem. At length, the power of the Druids had to yield to the influences of christianity, under the venerable apostle of Ireland.

CHAPTER II.

IRELAND BEFORE THE NORMAN INVASION.

St. Patrick—Christianity introduced—Latin letters introduced—The Irish kept the Latin language pure, and sent learned men through Europe—The Seminary of Armagh—The glory of the *Isle of Saints*—The slanders of Hume—Irish hospitality—No need for inns—Oswald sends to Ireland for missionaries, to teach the Saxons Christianity—Irish missionaries introduce Christianity into many parts of Europe—Alfred brought over Irish professors for his Oxford College—Hume and Gibbon copy the falsehoods of the historians of the pale—The kings of Northumberland make a descent on Ireland—The Romans did not invade Ireland—Danish invasion—Turgisius proclaimed king—Barbarities of the invaders—Seminaries and religious houses destroyed—The Danes defeated by Malachy and Brian—Clontarf—The Ostmen converted—The Danes intermarry with the native Irish—The Danes who remained in Ireland obeyed the laws of the Irish kings—The English invaders—Strongbow—The kings of

Ireland—Bloody deeds of the invaders—Henry landed in Cashel—He did not make any change in the laws of Ireland—Henry conferred the title of Lord of Ireland on his son John—The kings of England assume the title of Kings of Ireland in the reign of Henry VIII.—The English colony in Ireland divided into counties—Sheriffs appointed—Henry's pretext to promote religion—O'Neil's letter to Pope John—Bruce invited to rule Ireland as King—England hostile to liberty—England feared the union of the native Irish with the Norman race—The ascendancy of the party in favor of English interest—Edward wrote to his Chief Justice to remove all persons from office who had lands in Ireland—Ireland put under the control of the ascendancy party of the pale—The statutes of Kilkenny—It was made a crime to speak the Irish language—It was made a crime to entertain the Irish bards—An attempt to govern Ireland by English laws—Poyning's law—Henry VIII. introduced the system of corruption in Ireland—The limits of the pale—Religious bigotry—The reign of terror—No compromise—The independence of Ireland—Charges against the English government—England must do justice to Ireland—The Irish landlords—Absentees—What England must do for Ireland—The Irish republic—Ireland must be separated from England.

About the year 432, a new era commenced in Ireland, by the introduction of christianity and Latin letters by St. Patrick, after whom Ireland can boast of pious and learned men, who spread christianity over Europe. For centuries after, Ireland abounded in learned men, and kept the Latin language pure, even after Rome herself ceased to speak Latin, in the market places.

While the clouds of darkness and barbarism obscured Europe, Ireland had 7,000 students in the seminary of Armagh alone, who spread through Europe the literature and glory of the *Isle of Saints*. How completely this refutes the slanders of Hume and other English historians.

Those hirelings would fain make the world believe that the Irish were barbarous before the Norman invasion!

And this in despite the fact that the hospitality of Ireland was enjoined as a religious duty. No family was suffered to change their abode without notice, lest the traveler should be disappointed of his expected reception. There was no need of *inns* in a land of such true hospitality! As a further proof of the greatness of Ireland, we can adduce, from the best of testimony, that Oswald, the Saxon king, applied to Ireland for missionaries to teach his people christianity! Irish missionaries founded churches and monasteries in France, Italy, England, and Switzerland. Two hundred years before the time of the famous Charlemagne, the most learned men were of Ireland. Even the great Alfred brought over from Ireland professors for his Oxford college!

Yet we find Hume, and Gibbon, and other English writers, who copy the falsehoods of the historians of the pale, assert that no credit should be given to what they call the tales of the historians of Ireland. So much for English falsehood.

We are told by the venerable Bede, that Egfred, the king of Northumberland, made an abortive descent on Ireland, about the year 684. The Romans had meditated an invasion of Ireland, but the plan was never put in force.

About the eighth century, the Danes and Norwegians made frequent descents on the coasts of Gaul and Britain; and as they came from the north they were called Northmen in Gaul; and as they came from thence east to the coast of Britain and Ireland, they were called Ostmen, or Eastmen. After frequent descents on the coast of Ireland,

the barbarians made some settlements on the coast. Those places became afterwards flourishing cities.

In 825, Turgesius landed in Ireland with a powerful force. He pillaged and devastated the country. After some resistance he was proclaimed monarch of Ireland. The barbarities of those northern invaders are depicted, by the historians of the time, in the most pathetic colors, for their oppression, cruelty, and great devastation of a highly civilized and happy country. He destroyed the seminaries of learning and religious houses. The most prominent and flourishing settlements of the Danes were Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, and Wexford.

This oppression at length aroused the spirit of the nation. Malachy and the famous Brian Boreu defeated the Danes in several pitched battles. But the most decisive battle was that fought at Clontarf, by Brian, which broke the power of the Danes in Ireland for ever. Many of the Ostmen became Christians, others were united by marriage to the native Irish. This caused a mixture of the races, which became the bane of Irishmen and Ireland! The Ostmen, many of whom were prosperous merchants engaged in trade, were permitted to live in Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, and other towns. And as their descendants embraced the Christian religion, they in time, by frequent intermarriages, lost their separate identity, as a separate and distinct people. The Christian Danes attached themselves to the soil, and obeyed the laws of the Irish princes, and marched under their banners. They became very wealthy, and paid a large tribute to the Irish kings. The Dano-Irish Christians built churches, but they preferred their own clergy. Dano-Irish bishops pre-

sided over the sees of Waterford, Dublin and Limerick. All the towns ending with "ford," or "wick," are all of Danish origin. Many of the noble families of Ireland can trace their origin back to those fierce invaders—to those northern warriors who bowed down before the shrine of Odin!

Those invaders broke up the peace and fidelity of the Irish, which was followed by self-indulgence, jealousies, and self-interest of the now mixed races—which is the consequence of mixing a Christian and civilized race with a pagan and barbarous race. Even where there was no mixture of the races, the evil example of the Danes had an injurious and evil effect on the morals of the people of Ireland.

After the defeat of the Danes, order, peace and security revived. Churches were built, ruined seminaries were rebuilt, lands were cultivated, and the laws administered.

We will now come to the invasion of Ireland, in the time of Henry II., which has caused more woe to Ireland than was inflicted by the pagan and barbarous warriors of the Baltic.

The fierce sea-kings, the heroes of Valhalla, saved many monuments of art in Ireland, only to be destroyed by the christians of England.

The English invaders of Ireland were outlaws in their own country, the illegitimate offsprings of the harlot Nesta, a Welsh girl, who had two natural children with Henry the First. Those natural children were Robert Fitz-Roy and Henry Fitz-Henry. She afterwards married Gerald, constable of Pembroke, by whom she had Maurice Fitz-Gerald, from whom sprung the Geraldines of the House of Kil-

dare and Dermond. From this same Welsh lady sprung the families of Carews, Geraldts, and Fitz-Williams, Graces, Fitz-Henries and Fitz-Maurices. Thus the first hordes, under Strongbow, were from Wales, and not England. This same Strongbow and his principal followers were the offsprings of this harlot Nesta!

At the time Strongbow landed in Ireland, the country was divided into five kingdoms. The whole was governed by one monarch. Ulster was governed by the house of Hy-Nial; Munster by the O'Brien; Connaught by the O'Connor; Leinster by Dermond M. Murchad, (or M. Morrough); and Breffney by the O'Rourk. Breffney included the counties of Cavan and Leitrim. M. Murchad seduced O'Rourk's wife. For this outrage he was banished from his kingdom by the united forces of O'Rourk and O'Connor, the then monarch of Ireland. He fled to England, repaired to Henry, complained of his great misfortune, and implored the aid of Henry to recover his lost kingdom. He promised to recompense the British king by becoming his vassal. Henry was too much occupied by the revolt of his French subjects, and also in his difficulty with Bishop Becket, to go in person to Ireland, but he gave license to any of his subjects who would engage in the enterprise, and assist Dermond to recover his lost kingdom. By the aid of the treacherous Dermond, the outlaws, Strongbow and Robert Fitz-Sтивен, landed in Ireland and enacted their bloody deeds of cruelty. He landed in Wexford. Those bloody invaders desolated the country with fire and sword. Though they called themselves christians, they were the bloodiest of any invaders known in ancient or modern history. Their cruelties were written in characters of

blood. They knew no law but the law of the sword—the strong arm. Those invaders were savage, cruel, uncultivated, ambitious and avaricious adventurers.

Henry landed in Ireland and assembled a synod of the clergy at Cashel, but he did not innovate on the ancient laws of Ireland, nor the customs of the people. He did not attempt to impose the laws of England on the people of Ireland, but left them in the full enjoyment of the Brehon laws!

In 1178, Henry conferred on his son John the title of Lord of Ireland, which was the only title assumed by the sovereigns of England until the reign of Henry the Eighth, who assumed the title of King of Ireland. In the reign of King John, the English colony in Ireland was divided into counties, and sheriffs and other officers were appointed—the great ambition of this monarch being to assimilate the laws of the two countries.

Henry justified his invasion under the specious plea of promoting religion, and imparting to Ireland the great blessings of English civilization! The civilization he did impart, the reader can best learn from the following letter of King O'Neil to Pope John, written in the reign of Edward the Second. We make no apology for inserting it here. It is as follows:

“To the most holy father in Christ, Lord John, by the grace of God; his devoted children, Donald O'Neil, King of Ulster, and by hereditary right true heir of Ireland, as also the chieftains, and nobles, and the people of Ireland, recommend themselves most humbly, &c., &c.

“It is extremely painful to us, that the vicious detractions of slanderous Englishmen, and their iniquitous suggestions

against the defenders of our rights, should exasperate your holiness against the Irish nation, but alas! you know us only by the misrepresentations of our enemies, and you are exposed to the danger of adopting the infamous falsehoods which they propagate, without hearing anything of the detestable cruelties which they have committed against our ancestors, and continue to commit even to this day against ourselves.

“Heaven forbid that your holiness should be thus misguided; and it is to protect our unfortunate people from such a calamity, that we have resolved here to give you a faithful account of the present state of a kingdom we can call the melancholy remains of a nation that so long groans under the tyranny of the kings of England, and of the barons, some of whom, though born among us, continue to practice the same rapine and cruelties against us, which their ancestors did against ours heretofore. We shall speak nothing but the truth, and we hope that your holiness will not delay to inflict condign punishment upon the authors and abettors of such inhuman calamities.

“Know, then, that our fathers came from Spain; and our chief apostle, St. Patrick, sent by your predecessor, Pope Celestine, in the year 435, did, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, most effectually teach us the truth of the holy Roman Catholic faith, and that *ever since that period*, our kings, well instructed in the faith that was preached to them, have, in number sixty-one, without mixture of foreign blood, reigned in Ireland, to the year 1170; and those kings were not Englishmen, nor of any other nation but our own; who with pious liberality bestowed ample endowments in lands, and many immunities on the Irish church, though in modern

times our churches were most barbarously plundered by the English, by whom they are almost despoiled; and though those our kings so long and so strenuously defended against tyrants and kings of different regions, the inheritance given them by God, preserving their innate liberty at all times inviolate. * * * Ever since those Englishmen appeared first upon our coasts, in virtue of the above surreptitious donation. They entered our territories under a certain specious pretext of piety and external hypocritical show of religion, endeavoring in the meantime, by every artifice malice could suggest, to extirpate us root and branch, and without any other right than that of strength, they have so far succeeded, by base and fraudulent cunning; that they have forced us to quit our fair and ample habitations, and paternal inheritances, and to take refuge, like wild beasts, in the mountains, woods, and morasses of the country; nor can even the caverns and dens protect us against their insatiable avarice. They pursue us even into those frightful abodes, endeavoring to dispossess us of the wild uncultivated rocks, and arrogating to themselves the property of every place on which we can stamp the figure of our feet; and through the excess of the most profound ignorance, impudence, arrogance, or blind insanity, scarcely conceivable, they thereto assert that not a single part of Ireland is ours, but by right entirely their own!

“Hence the implacable animosities and exterminating carnage which are perpetually carried on between us; hence our continual hostilities, our bloody reprisals, our numberless massacres, in which, since the invasions of this day, more than 50,000 men have perished on both sides, not to speak of those who died by famine, despair, the rig-

ors of captivity, and a thousand other disorders which it is impossible to remedy, on account of the anarchy in which we live—an anarchy which, alas! is tremendous, not only to the state, but also to the church of Ireland, the ministers of which are daily exposed, not only to the loss of the frail and transitory things of this world, but also to the loss of those solid and substantial blessings which are eternal and immortal.

“Let those few particulars concerning our origin, and the deplorable state to which we have been reduced by the above donation of Adrian IV., suffice for the present.

“We have now to inform your holiness, that Henry, King of England, and the four kings his successors, have violated the conditions of the Pontifical bull, by which they were empowered to invade this kingdom; for the said Henry promised, as appears by the said bull, to extend the patrimony of the church. * * * As to the church lands, so far from extending them, they have confined, and retrenched, and invaded them on all sides, inso-much that some cathedral churches have been, by open force, notoriously plundered of half their possessions; nor have the persons of our clergy been more respected; in every part of the country we find bishops and prelates cited, arrested, and imprisoned, without distinction. * *

“The English promised, also, to introduce a better code of laws, and to enforce better morals among the Irish people; but, instead of this, they have so corrupted our morals, that the holy and dove-like simplicity of our nation is, on account of the flagitious example of those reprobates, changed into the malicious cunning of the serpent.

“We had a written code of laws, according to which our

nation was governed hitherto; they have deprived us of those laws, and of every law, except one, which it is impossible to wrest from us; and for the purpose of exterminating our people, they have established other iniquitous laws, by which injustice and inhumanity are combined for our destruction—some of which we here insert for your inspection, as being so many fundamental rules of English jurisprudence, established in this kingdom.”

“All hope of peace between us, is therefore completely destroyed, for such is their pride, such their excessive lust for dominion, such our ardent ambition to shake off this insupportable yoke, and recover the inheritance which they have so unjustly usurped, that as there never was, so there never will be, any sincere coalition between them and us; nor is it possible there should be, in this life, for we entertain a certain natural enmity against each other, flowing from mutual malignity, descending by inheritance from father to son, and spreading from generation to generation. Let no person wonder, then, if we endeavor to preserve our lives and defend our liberties, as well as we can, against those cruel tyrants. So far from thinking it unlawful, we hold it to be a meritorious act; nor can we be accused of perjury or rebellion, since neither our fathers nor we did, at any time, bind ourselves by an oath of allegiance, to their fathers, or to them, and therefore, without the least remorse of conscience, while breath remains, we will attack them in defence of our just rights, and never lay down our arms until we force them to desist. Besides, we are fully satisfied to prove, in a judicial manner, before twelve or more bishops, the facts which we have stated, and the grievances which we have complained of; not like

these English who, in time of prosperity, discontinue all legal ordinances, and, if they enjoyed prosperity at present, would not recur to Rome as they do now, but would crush, with their overbearing and tyrannical haughtiness, all the surrounding nations, despising every law, human and divine.

“Thereupon, on account of all those injuries, and a thousand others which human wit cannot easily comprehend, and on account of the kings of England, and their wicked ministers, who, instead of governing us, as they are bound to do, with justice and moderation, have wickedly endeavored to exterminate us off the face of the earth; and to shake off the detestable yoke, and recover our native liberties, which we lost by their means, we are forced to carry on an exterminating war, choosing, in defence of our liberties and lives, rather to rise like men, and expose our persons bravely to all the dangers of war, than any longer to bear like women those atrocious and detestable injuries; and in order to obtain our interest the more speedily and consistently, we invite the gallant Edward Bruce, to whom, being descended from our most noble ancestors, we transfer as we justly may, our right of royal dominion, unanimously declaring him our king, by common consent, who, in our opinion, and the opinion of most men is as just, prudent, and pious, as he is powerful and courageous, who will do justice to all classes of the people.”

The reader will see from this epistle, the galling persecution of our forefathers, even in the times when Englishmen and Irishmen worshiped at the same altar. That the darling object of England, at all times, was to trample on the liberties of all nations, but most especially the liberty of

Ireland. The Irish patriot will read, with emotion, the noble and bold determination of O'Neil to free his bleeding country from British thralldom and oppression. To wrench from the iron grasp of the invader the liberties of Ireland. To die rather than to submit to the galling yoke of a foreign foe. Let Irishmen of the present day follow such a bright, patriotic, and illustrious example as displayed by the O'Neil, and strike for the freedom of Ireland—strike for the liberty of fatherland!

The English were so tyrannical, in this age, that the Irish invited over the gallant Bruce, as their monarch.

Odious, indeed, must be the tyranny of England, when the Irish kings and princes were willing to yield up their authority and common country to a foreign prince rather than submit to British misrule,—such was the tyranny of the colonial task-masters of the pale—such the beauty of colonial law, that the killing of a mere Irishman was not deemed murder.

In the reign of Edward III. the English were apprehensive that the native Irish would unite with the Norman race of the pale against British ascendancy and the English interest. Edward wrote to his Chief Justice, in Ireland, to remove from office all persons who had lands in Ireland and none in England, or who were allied to the native Irish by marriage, and to give said offices to Englishmen having lands, tenements, and benefices in England—the object of this policy being to put Ireland under the control of the hirelings of the ascendancy, men who had no interest in Ireland, mere birds of passage, who came over to Ireland to plunder the people, to sow discord and division between the native Irish and the English settlers of the pale. Such

has been the baneful policy of that overbearing, haughty, unprincipled government to this day! And such will be her policy until Ireland shall shake from off her limbs the galling chains of centuries—until Ireland is, as she ought to be, free and independent, with her green old flag flaunting in the breeze!!

Another act of the ever narrow-minded, blind, fanatical and unprincipled statesmen of England, in order to prevent the union of the Milesian and Norman races, was the famous, or, as we may term it, infamous statutes of Kilkenny, which stand unparalleled in the history of the world! This parliament enacted that it was high treason for the English of the pale to intermarry with the native Irish. To use the Irish language, wear Irish apparel, or follow any mode or custom of the Irish, was made punishable by forfeiture of lands and tenements. It was even made penal to permit the Irish to graze the lands of the English of the pale, or to present any of them to any ecclesiastical benefices, or even to receive them into any religious houses or monasteries. It was also made penal to entertain the Irish bards.

In short, England wanted to place a gulf of fire between the two races, so as to extirpate the Irish name and race, and the better to support the English interest, “the statute of Kilkenny empaled the pale from social life; it formed an insulated Jewish cast, abhorring all, abhorred by all.”

* * *—Taaffe.

She dreaded then, as she does now, the union of the people, her darling policy being to divide and conquer. But if the Irish of this generation be true to themselves, they will forget all differences of the past and unite in one

common cause for the freedom and independence of their dear fatherland! The history of the past ought to teach us the curse of disunion. That England got her first foothold in Ireland by division and jealousy—that by division she held dominion in the land of our fathers—that by the union of Irishmen, she will lose her power in the green isle for ever.

In the reign of Henry VII., after years of bondage and slaughter, we find the English pale confined to the narrow limits of half the counties of Kildare, Meath, Uriel, Dublin and Wexford.

The common people, even in those districts, conformed to the Irish manners, customs and habits, and spoke the Irish language. “All English folke of the said counties be of Irish habit, of Irish language, and Irish conditions, except the cities and the walled towns.” In this reign England made an attempt to govern Ireland by the laws of England.

For this purpose Henry instructed his law officer, Sir Edward Poynings, to have the following law enacted by the parliament of the pale, the servile instruments of the British ascendancy—those colonial task-masters, who were ever ready to do the vile behest of England. We will here insert its principal provisions:

“Whereas, many statutes lately made within the realm of England, would contribute to the wealth and prosperity of Ireland, if used and executed in the same, it is ordained and established by the authority of parliament, and by the assent of the lords and commons, that all statutes lately made within the realm of England, belonging to the public weal of the same, be deemed good and effectual in

law, accepted, used and executed within this land of Ireland; authorized, approved, and confirmed."

This shows clearly that Ireland did not surrender her ancient laws to Henry II., as Englishmen and the writers of the pale would have us believe.

We find nothing in the history of the world so audacious as this attempt of a few upstarts of the pale to arrogate to themselves the right to legislate for the whole Irish nation, as we have already shown, that at this time the pale was generally confined to a few miles around the city of Dublin! The same minions of the pale passed another act, which has become memorable in the history of Ireland, and which gave a handle to future statesmen to cripple the Irish parliament—which proves the justice of Providence in visiting the iniquities of the parents on their children—for it was that act that gave Pitt and his instruments a pretext to steal away the Irish parliament, at the time of the Union, so-called. This act provides "that no parliament be holden in Ireland until the acts be certified into England. Thus the parliament of the pale yielded up its independence and honor, and became the mere recording committee of the British parliament.

In the reign of Henry VIII., the English saw the folly of trying to subdue the Irish by the sword alone. By the counsel of Wolsey, Henry yielded the sword to cunning, fraud, and corruption. He attempted to govern Ireland by the cheap mode of division, fraud, bribery, and corruption. Henry conferred on the Irish chiefs titles of nobility which cost him nothing, as also stars, garters, and ribbons. Since then, England has done more to destroy the liberty of Ireland, by gold and worthless honors, than by the sword.

The grand schemes of British statesmen, ever since, has been diplomacy, treachery, bribery and corruption, and Punic faith, not only with Ireland but with the world!

In this perfidious reign, the colonial parliament conferred on Henry the title of King of Ireland, when, at the same time, the jurisdiction of the pale did not extend more than twenty miles from Dublin.

The following is the state of Ireland in the reign of Henry VIII., as taken from a State paper:

“And fyrst of all to make His Grace understande, that there byn more than sixty countrys, called regyons, in Ireland, inhabyted with the king’s enemies, some regyons as big as a shire, some more, some less unto a little; some as big as half a shire, and some a little less; where reigneth more than sixty chief captains, whereof some calleth themselves kings, some kings’ peers, in their own language, some princes, some dukes, some arch-dukes, that liveth only by the sworde, and obeyeth to no other temporal person, but only to himself that is strong. And every of the said captains maketh war and peace for himself, and holdeth by sworde, and hath imperial jurisdiction within his rome, and obeyeth to no other person, English or Irish, except only such persons as may subdue him by the sworde.

“Also, there is more than thirty great captains of the English noble folk, that followeth the same Irish order, and keepeth the same rule, and every of them maketh war and peace for himself, without license from the King, or any other temporal person, save to him that is the strongest, and of such that may subdue them by the sworde.

“Here followeth the names of the counties that obey

not the King's laws, and have neither justice, neither sheriffs, under the King:

“The county of Waterford.

“The county of Corke.

“The county of Kilkenny.

“The county of Lymerick.

“The county of Kerry.

“The county of Conaught (province).

“The county of Wolster (province).

“The county of Carlagh (Carlow).

“The county of Uryell (Monaghan).

“The county of Meathe (Westmeath).

“Halfe the county of Dublin.

“Halfe the county of Kildare.

“Halfe the county of Wexford.

“All the English folke of said counties of Irish habit, of Irish language, and of Irish conditions, except the cities and the walled towns.

“Here followeth the names of the counties subject unto the King's laws:

“Halfe the county of Uryell.

“Halfe the county of Meathe.

“Halfe the county of Dublin.

“Halfe the county of Wexford.

“All the common people of the said halfe counties that obeyeth the King's laws, for the most part be of Irish birth, of Irish habit, and of Irish language.”

It will be seen from another extract from the same paper, how completely the independence of the Irish chieftains was recognized by all the English constituted authorities:

“Here followeth the names of the English territories that bear tribute to the wylde Irish: the barony of Lecchahill, in the county of Wolstar (Ulster), to the Captain of Clonhuboy, payeth yearly £40; or else to O’Neyll, whether of them be strongest.

“The county of Uryell (Monaghan), payeth yearly to the great O’Neyll, £40.

“The county of Meathe payeth yearly to O’Connor, £300. The county or Kyldare payeth yearly to the said O’Connor, £20.

“The King’s exchequer payeth yearly to M. Morough, 80 marks. The county of Wexford payeth yearly to M. Morough and Arte Oboy, £40.

“The county of Kilkenny and the county of Tipperary pay yearly to O’Carroll, £40. The county of Limerick payeth yearly to O’Brien Arraghe, in English money, £40. The county of Corke to Cormac M. Teyge, £40.

“Also there is no folke daily subject to the King’s lawes but halfe the county of Uryell, halfe the county of Meathe, halfe the county of Dublin, and halfe the county of Kildare.”

Until now English sovereigns had assumed no higher title than that of Lord of Ireland.

Though the Irish had suffered great wrongs, woes and grievances, before this reign, the cup of human misery was not full to overflowing; more bitter ingredients had to be added, to make human suffering more complete—that of religious bigotry and persecution—which the malignity of perverted religion could invent.

Henceforth we may date the beginning of the reign of terror, which would make demons blush, if they were pos-

sessed of such faculty! Yet the Irish are called rebels, because they will not submit to be robbed of their liberty. Englishmen wonder why Irishmen cannot love the government of England—why they cannot forget the past history of their dear and persecuted country. Irishmen cannot forget such wrongs, until the government of England repents of her former cruelty and oppression towards an unoffending people. Let her do justice to Ireland, even at this, the eleventh hour; let her make reparation for the past—for Ireland cannot forget those wrongs which are written in blood, until, as we have said, England repents of the foul wrongs which she has inflicted on Ireland, and restores to her her lost liberty. In short, give Ireland her independence. Let England withdraw her army and navy from Ireland, her police and spies, her army of hungry officials, haul down her *flag from Dublin Castle*. Then when we see the old, immortal green flag flaunting proudly to the breeze over the capital of Ireland—then, and not until then, can Irishmen forget their wrongs. No honest Englishman can object to this; it is justice; it is fair play. This is the age of justice and humanity. Let England, then, do justice to Ireland, and Irishmen will forgive the past. They will even try to forget. We will blot out all the spite, malice and enmity of races, and become the friends and neighbors of Britain. But we will not compromise. The days of compromises are gone. We want liberty; we want our own. Let England have England, and Ireland have Ireland. We want an Irish Republic!!

Having thus given a brief outline of the history of Ireland, down to this present period, we do hereby present, accuse, and indict the English government, before the

world, of high crimes and misdemeanors. We do indict her before the bar of public opinion of the enlightened world; we charge her with the commission of crimes of the blackest hue, of the perpetration inflicted on Ireland without just cause, of wrongs, cruelties, tyranny and oppression! of torture by death and by famine, persecution by penal laws, torture in prisons, convict-ships, and the misery of penal colonies, extermination by vile and unjust laws, by her underlings and instruments the Irish landlords and the English absentees, who draw from Ireland the produce of her soil. We do further set forth, more in detail, the manifold wrongs of Ireland aforesaid, which will show to the impartial reader what Ireland has suffered. For all such wrongs we ask for a verdict.

CHAPTER III.

MISGOVERNED IRELAND UNDER THE NORMAN INVADERS.

The English government commenced a bloody persecution of Ireland, from the fatal day when the soil of Ireland received the first footprints of the English invaders, under the tyrannical minions of Henry II., in 1172. They began their perfidious reign in Ireland, by wholesale massacre, murder, blasphemy, perjury, avarice, cruelty, assassination, extermination, and lawless power!

“All the natives were clearly expelled, so as not one Irish family had so much as one acre of freehold in all the five counties of the pale.”—Davies’ Tracts, p. 276.

The English power was confined to the pale—the lords

of the pale treated the Irish beyond their jurisdiction as aliens, outlaws, and perpetual enemies, without the protection of the law. It was a by-word used by the Irish:

“That they dwelt by west the law, which dwelt beyond the river of the Barrow,”—which is within thirty miles of Dublin.

The colonial tyrants made it felony for to trade with the native Irish. It was also made a felony to intermarry with them, or to foster their children. The English soldiers could live on the country—take “man meat and horse meat,” and lodge in any man’s house for one night.

“They did eat up the people as it were bread.” Gentlemen and nobles should deliver a list of their servants and retainers to the authorities. The authorities could execute all suspicious persons found outside of their doors at night. An Englishman could cut off the head of an Irishman on mere suspicion—“that it might be probable that it was his intention to rob!!” If an Englishman should rob or murder a mere Irishman, he could come into court and plead that the said mere Irishman was not of the five bloods (to wit: O’Niels of Ulster, O’Melachlins of Meath, the O’Connors of Connaught, the O’Briens of Thomond, and the McMurrroughs of Leinster). If he was found not to be of the five bloods (but that he was a mere Irishman), the Englishman was acquitted. Notwithstanding the sanguinary laws, written in characters of blood, which oppressed the people more than, as Dr. Johnson says, the ten persecutions, the pale was confined to narrow limits, until the reign of Elizabeth and the pusillanimous and pedantic James I.; the former used the sword, fire, famine, pestilence, horrible murders, perfidy, and wholesale massacres; the latter the

slow engine of perverted law, bribed judges, and perjured jurors, the chicanery of crafty and subtle lawyers. Her bloody penal laws punished industry as a crime and forced ignorance on the people by acts of parliament!!

“The Irish had never been in the condition of subjects, but always out of the protection of the law, and were indeed in worse case than aliens of any foreign realm that was in amity with the crown of England.”—Davies’ Tracts, p. 85.

The government sowed discord between Catholic and Protestant to prevent the Irish from going into one nation.

The English government never understood either justice or humanity towards the Irish—the word mercy never entered into their vocabulary! They tyrannized over the Irish and ruled over them with a rod of iron, whenever England was prosperous—when she was victorious by land and sea—she never showed mercy to poor old Ireland. But in the hour of her weakness—when England is powerful she encourages the anti-Irish faction—Irish grievances are derided and scoffed at; she is compelled to submit to inferior political rights, so that the toiling millions of Ireland are forced to exile themselves in multitudes to every country out of Ireland: to wander in foreign lands far from the graves of their forefathers, to cultivate every soil but their own!!

In the reign of Elizabeth, the English government, by Mountjoy and Carew, wasted the country with fire and sword and famine. They laid waste the country—destroying the growing crops, so that the people of Munster had to live on the herbs of the fields, yea, even the bodies of the dead—they devoured horses, carrion, and the carcasses of the dead. For four hundred years Ireland was governed by martial

law, which was treated as if it formed a part of the common law. "Lord Dillion affirmed that martial law had been practiced, and men hanged by it in times of peace."

The English soldiers, even in time of peace, could live on the country; crops were destroyed from year to year; the cattle slaughtered, so as to reduce the people by famine and pestilence. All this was done under the reign of good Queen Bess!!

"Their avarice and cruelty, their plundering and massacres, were still more ruinous than the defeat of an army or the loss of a city." Leland, book II, chap. 3.

They not only killed unarmed but defenseless women and innocent children, burnt and roasted people alive, cut out their bowels while yet alive; famine was judged an effectual and speedy means for reducing the "Irish rebels"—a name given to the Irish instead of enemies. The Irish people were known only as "Irish enemies," in royal charts, acts of parliament and proclamations, before the reign of Elizabeth, when they were first called "Irish rebels."

The English were afraid that the Irish would become tranquil and happy, that they would acquire prosperity, riches, and consequence, which would alienate them from England; that they would become independent, and form an alliance with France. The people were reduced to such horrid famine by the ravages of Montjoy and Carew, that the children feasted on the bodies of their mothers. The country from Waterford to Limerick, about six score miles, was devoid of man, woman or child, except in the towns.

The pedantic, despicable, and unprincipled James I. confiscated six counties of Ulster, drove the native Irish to the mountains and bogs, and gave their homes to aliens

and enemies. Forfeiture and confiscation followed the sword; the homes of the Celt were given to Scotchmen. For this purpose parliaments were called, for the sole purpose of confiscating Irish property in this reign, as well as in the reigns of Henry VIII., Queen Mary, Elizabeth, Charles I. and Charles II. In their patents it was stipulated that they should not alienate any portion of it to the *mere Irish*.

James, by his crown lawyers, opened a commission to inquire into defective titles in the kingdom of Connaught. He forced many of the proprietors to be mulcted in a large sum of money. Jurors who refused to bring in a verdict for the crown, were cited in the Star Chamber, where they were fined, imprisoned, and their ears cut off, and their goods confiscated to the crown. Such was the tyranny of this court, that a man was fined £500, his ears cut off, and himself put in the pillory for calling a nobleman's swan a goose.—O'Connell's Speeches, vol. II, p. 257.

In the reign of Charles I., the villain Strafford planned the confiscation of every estate in Connaught, by bribing the judges and jurors. Under color of law, he confiscated the counties of Rosecommon, Mayo and Sligo. Jurors were compelled to bring verdicts for the crown, under the terror of having their ears cut off, their tongues bored with red hot irons, and other infamous punishments. Yea, sheriffs were fined for not summoning a jury that would find a verdict for the crown!

"Sometimes pilloried, with loss of ears, and bored through the tongue, and sometimes marked in the forehead with a hot iron, and other infamous punishments."—Commons' Journal, vol. I., p. 307.

The jurors of Galway, who had conscience not to yield to perjury and rob their countrymen, were adjudged to remain in prison until they paid a fine of four thousand pounds, and confessed their offenses in court upon their knees. These unhappy jurors remained years in prison. The lords justices had recourse to the rack to extort confessions!! Men were hanged by martial law at their own doors, who could not give a good account of themselves!! Yet, we are told by Clarendon and Hume that Ireland is well governed!

Thus the English employ their historians, magazines, pamphlets, newspapers, novels, tales, and penny-a-liners, to misrepresent, traduce, blacken, and vilify the Irish. St. Leger ordered a woman, great with child, to be ripped up, from whose womb three babes were taken, and the merciless soldiers pierced their bodies with their weapons. The bloody Sir Charles Coote committed the most horrid and infamous butcheries upon the aged, decrepit women and children.

“Coote, on seeing a soldier carrying about a babe on his pike, said that he liked such frolics.”

His orders were to kill, destroy, burn, and demolish the homes and towns of the Irish. Men were butchered after they had laid down their arms; many of them were murdered after they were brought within the walls of Dublin. October 24, 1644, the parliament of England declared that no quarter should be given to the Irish.

We now come to misgoverned Ireland, under Cromwell and his saints, whose avowed intention was the extermination of the Irish race and the confiscation of their properties. These fanatical soldiers slew, what they called the

mere Irish, without distinction of age or condition: defenceless women, and innocent and hapless children!!

“They spared neither man, woman, nor child, but all were committed to the sword.”—Hollingshead, 6, p. 430.

Men were hanged at the plough, and even one brother was forced to hang his own brother, out of mere wantonness and cruelty. (This gave rise to an old tradition among the people, that when Cromwell landed in Ireland, he put an Irishman on a spit, and that another Irishman was found to turn it, for money.) Children were taken by the legs by the soldiers, who knocked their brains against the walls; defenceless men, women, and children were murdered in their beds at Island Magee.

At Wexford he massacred five thousand of the inhabitants, even three hundred females, who gathered around a cross, were murdered, while with uplifted hands they implored mercy. The streets of Drogheda ran crimson with the pure blood of the Irish, for five days, by order of the cruel and tyrannical Cromwell!!

The cruel and bloody butcher, Cromwell, wrote to England, after the above butchery:

“Sir,—It has pleased God to bless our endeavors at Drogheda. * * * I believe we have put to the sword the whole number of the defendants.”

Oh, blasphemous wretch! oh, cruel butcher!

In commemoration of this hellish deed, the parliament of England appointed the 18th day of November as a thanksgiving day throughout the nation.

Cromwell's soldiers amused themselves with hurling little children in the air and then tossing them up on the points of their spears.

Never did a nation, ancient or modern, suffer as much as poor Ireland has, from the diabolical and merciless cruelty of tyrannical England! All the hostility and bigotry of the English and the Anglo-Irish of the pale, has been directed to exterminate the Irish race, from the days of Henry II. to Queen Victoria.

It has been said that this was the work of the government, and not the people; but the people sanctioned all of this cruelty and despotism. The English had a strong anti-party against anything Irish. In short, Cromwell's war was carried on by the great mass of the English people; yet these soldiers were the most fiendish, cruel and diabolical of any that Ireland ever endured, or which afflicted a people. They wasted the country with fire, sword, famine and pestilence, in 1652-3.

A man might travel thirty miles without seeing a living creature—"and a most plentiful country suddenly left voyde of man and beast."—Spenser's State of Ireland, p. 165, (108.)

One thousand Irish were transported to the West Indies, by orders of Cromwell; those of a military age were spared on condition of exiling themselves to the continent of Europe. Lingard says that vessels were crowded by the poorer classes, and sent to Barbadoes and other West India Islands—not one of which survived in twenty years. In 1655, thousands of Irish boys and girls were taken from their homes, and transported to the West Indies.

We shudder when we see the inhuman manner in which England has tried to Anglicise Ireland. It makes our blood boil with indignation and horror!! The Cromwellians surveyed the whole of Ireland, and divided it among their

soldiers, except Tipperary, which Cromwell kept for his own family, in which no adventurers were to have a share or lot. Thus, Cromwell's soldiers became possessed of the most fertile parts of Ireland, with no other right but that of conquest.

The English adventurers who coveted the lands of the Irish, wished to consider them enemies, and to force them into rebellion, so as to have a pretense to confiscate their estates. If an Irishman had wealth, he was sure to be cut off, and hanged at his own door!

"It was thought no ill policy to make the Irish draw blood upon one another, whereby their private quarrels might advance the public service." Though the Irish had fought the battles of England, and aided her to extend her dominion over the four winds of heaven, causing her flag to wave over every sea and ocean in the world, yet, in the hour of her prosperity and greatness she tyrannized over Ireland with a rod of iron!

By the treaty of Limerick, the Catholics were not bound to take any other oath but the oath of allegiance; but after the victories of Marlborough, the bloody penal code, which Montesquieu said, was written in blood, was enacted.

England violated her pledges and promises, with a Punic faith, which will never be forgotten. The violated treaty of Limerick, Irishmen can never forget. Never can they trust the violaters! nor the rotten, bigoted, selfish, and narrow-minded British aristocracy.

"The treaty of Limerick was trampled under foot—justice, and humanity, and conscience were trodden to the earth, and a code of laws inflicted on the Catholics, which Montesquieu has well said, ought to have been written in

blood, and of which you still feel the emaciating cruelty—a code of laws which still leaves you aliens in the land of your ancestors.”—O’Connell’s speeches, vol. I, p. 195.

The only way to force from them Irish rights, is by the liberal party in Ireland uniting with the liberal Democrats of England and Scotland. That was the most potent weapon by which O’Connell gained emancipation. This union of the Irish liberals with the reform party carried the English parliamentary reform bill,—the Scotch reform bill,—the English municipal reform bill,—the Scotch municipal reform bill. Yet, though the Irish obtained reform for Scotland and England, she failed to obtain the same and equal reform for herself.

Ireland cannot expect from England equal rights, while she is in the minority in the British parliament—while she has but 100 representatives against 558 from Wales, England and Scotland in the British parliament. Her only hope is in final separation—in her own independence. “Hereditary bondsmen! know ye not, who would be free, themselves must strike the blow.” Ireland must take her place among the nations of the earth, with her green flag floating over the castle of Dublin; her minister representing her in the city of Washington.

Oh, with what raptures of delight would the Sunburst be hailed in the Atlantic cities!!

Who can depict the enthusiasm and patriotic feelings of Irish-Americans on beholding the immortal green floating proudly over an Irish man-of-war in the American waters! yet this is Ireland’s noble and holy destiny!

Fellow-countrymen, we must not cease to agitate until this glorious result is finally accomplished. Let us not de-

spair of the freedom of fatherland. Let us persevere with holy ardor in the good cause, and Ireland must and shall be free!!

CHAPTER IV.

THE UNITED IRISHMEN—REBELLION OF '98.

The true cause of the rebellion of 1798—English despotism—The harrassing system of landlordism—The cruelties of the petty magistrates—Persecution—Patriotism of the people—The French land in Ireland—The bloody deeds of the colonial upstarts—The Wexford rebellion.

In consequence of the penal and unjust laws passed against Irish manufactures, that branch of industry was ruined, and gave a monopoly of the woolen trade to England. To this we may add, that while England was increasing her national debt, by wars on the continent of Europe, as well as her unholy crusade and despotic war to enslave the colonies of North America, while Ireland had to furnish her quota of both men and money, all the fat army contracts were given to Englishmen! While the English people had all the profits from these wars, Ireland received nothing but taxation and poverty, for her expenditures of both blood and treasure! From the monopoly of the English manufacturers, the trade of Ireland languished and decayed, throwing thousands out of employment in the towns and cities, to seek employment from the farmers, who were already overrun with laborers. This made lands dear, thereby greatly enhancing the rents of the avaricious, and greedy and tyrannical "middle-men."

In the reign of George III., we read of the first symp-

toms of agrarian troubles in Ireland. The working classes having despaired of obtaining any redress of their grievances from the oligarchy, and their overbearing and plundering agents, had recourse to secret societies called "Whiteboys." Landlords in Munster had let farms to their tenants, with the privilege of commonage. They afterwards enclosed those commons. The farmers met in crowds and demolished the enclosures. The landlords raised the cry of "treason against the State," and had even the audacity to obtain a select committee to inquire into the cause of the "Popish insurrection in Munster." The London papers, on the authority of royal commissioners, pronounced that the rioters "consisted indiscriminately of persons of different persuasions." Yet the castle oligarchy denounced it as "another Popish plot."

A large military force was dispatched to Tipperary, where the resident "undertakers," the blood-stained Maude, Bagnell, Toler, and Hewiston, were the chief maintainers of the so-called "Popish plot," for bringing over the French and the Pretender.

In 1763, Father Sheehy was executed on charge of enrolling and maintaining the "Whiteboys." Several other persons suffered on charge of being connected with the Whiteboys. Other societies followed, but the most formidable was that of the United Irishmen, who threatened to dismember the British empire. This society followed the bright example of the volunteers of 1782, with this difference, that they wanted to sever the last link which joined Ireland to England. For they could not trust England. They remembered how England violated her promises, solemnly given in the hour of England's weakness and

Ireland's strength. We say weakness of England, for in the revolutionary war of the American colonies, England had her forces dispersed in remote and distant parts of the world. Such was her weakness, that she was unable to protect Ireland from an "anticipated French invasion." To add more to England's difficulties, her minister was unpopular, her people were ground down by enormous taxation, her treasury was depleted, her army defeated in the colonies. This was the moment to strike for Irish independence and eternal separation. Let not Irishmen ever again throw away such an opportunity! But, alas! the patriots of 1782 were not in a mood to separate from England. They were willing to be satisfied with the promises of England. Yet the patriots of that time lived to see not only the promises of England violated, but Ireland's independence annihilated! These patriots considered England as the cradle of liberty; but they lived to regret the confidence they put in perfidious Albion. They were satisfied with the repeal of Poyning's law—legislative independence. They were willing that Ireland should be governed through the crown and Ireland and not through the crown of England—that the king of England was the king of Ireland—that the king was to govern both kingdoms through their respective legislatures. Again, we say, that if the volunteers had acted with more warlike fervor, if they had not put too much faith in the pledges and promises of Britain, made in the hour of her weakness, to be violated in the hour of her prosperity, they could have gained the independence of their country—final separation from the crown of Great Britain—Ireland could be to-day a free republic. They were led by aristocrats. Had they trusted

in leaders from the ranks of the toiling millions, they would show England that Ireland was never intended by the God of nature to be her vassal! But to return to the subject. These startling disturbances confirmed the patriots that the most potent remedy for those popular outbreaks was "free trade" and home manufactures—independent parliament. The revolt of the American colonies from the "step-mother," England, caused by the cupidity and greed of the English oligarchy, to tax the colonies and to cripple their resources, and to keep them dependent on the looms and spinning-jennies of England, roused the dormant spirit of the Irish patriots, to seek for the redress of their grievances. In 1778 to 1782, Mr. Grattan was considered the champion of "*free trade and free parliament*" in Ireland.

In 1777, the brave patriots of America had whipped the army of Burgoyne, at Saratoga, and immortal and chivalrous France became a powerful ally of the American patriots, struggling against the power, wealth, mighty resources and intriguing diplomacy of England. The British lion received a wound, which sent him howling across the foaming billows of the Atlantic! which proud Britannia will never forget; humbling her arrogant, vainglorious pride, and overbearing and overweening despotism. Then, and only until then, did the ascendancy party, with good grace, but with much reluctance pass the first Catholic relief bill, in 1778, which gave the Catholics the privilege to loan money on mortgages, and to lease lands for a term of 999 years; and to bequeath and inherit real property. The oligarchy, who were nothing more than the colonial jailors of the native Irish, and who had a monopoly of the government of Ire-

land and its offices—who had a monopoly of the Irish parliament, from the expulsion of James II. until they bartered it away to Pitt, in 1800. They held a monopoly of the privileges and franchises, in the hour of England's might, power, and prosperity, with that insolent intolerance which characterizes the minority—when colonial adventurers are upheld by the power of foreign bayonets, over a conquered but not subdued nation! But, in the hour of England's weakness—when adversity perched on her banners—when her armies were subdued, her trained and disciplined veterans were vanquished by the immortal, invincible, and patriotic heroes of North America—when the bloody flag of England, which “braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze,” was lowered to the glorious stars and stripes—the emblem of liberty—destined to be the shield of the oppressed of every clime, who may seek the free shores of America! Then, when the power of England trembled before the immortal Washington and the heroes of 1776! then, and not until then, did the colonial “undertakers” of the ascendancy party, repeal the test oath, in favor of the dissenters. Then did England consent to arm the Irish militia. Swift's maxim was caught up by the Irish people: “To burn everything coming from England, except the coals.” This was the subject of popular and patriotic toasts. In July, 1779, the English government was compelled, through fear, to issue arms to the Irish volunteers. In 1780, the English, not being able to retrieve their fallen fortunes in the colonies—England, crestfallen, was glad, as well as the colonial jailors and supporters of English interest in Ireland, by the “instrumentality of the eloquent and patriotic Grattan, and his friends, to yield to Ireland free trade!

This put Ireland on an equality with England, in respect to foreign and colonial commerce.

In 1782, England was forced, through her difficulties, to accept Grattan's ultimatum. The repeal of the 6th of George I.—the repeal of Poyning's law—the repeal of the perpetual mutiny act, and an act to abolish the alteration and suppression of bills. An act to establish the final jurisdiction of the Irish courts and the Irish house of lords, thus raising Ireland to the proud dignity of a nation. We will make a few extracts from Grattan on the manufactures of Ireland, as follows: "That we beseech your majesty to believe, that it is with the utmost reluctance we are constrained to approach you on the present occasion; but the constant drain to supply absentees, and the unfortunate prohibition of our trade have caused such calamity, that the natural support of our country has decayed, and our manufacturers are dying from want; famine stalks hand and hand with hopeless wretchedness; and the only means left to support the expiring trade of this miserable part of your majesty's dominions, is to open a free export trade, and let your Irish subjects enjoy their natural birthright." Another source of Irish thralldom arose from the fact that Irish judges were dependent on the crown for their salaries. They were appointed during the pleasure of the sovereign. If they did not prove subservient to the dictates of the crown, they could be removed from the bench! Thus was the dignity of the judiciary made an instrument in the hands of despotism! Up to this time Ireland was inundated by the fabrics of English manufacturers, which excluded home manufactures.

A free trade meeting was convened in Dublin, by the

high sheriff, and free trade resolutions were passed, as well as non-importation resolutions. We copy the following :

“At a general meeting of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, convened by public notice,

“William, James and John Ex Shaw, High Sheriffs, in the chair. The following resolutions, amongst others, were unanimously adopted :

“That we will not, from the date hereof, until the *grievances of this country* shall be removed, directly or indirectly import or *consume any* of the manufactures of *Great Britain*, nor will we *deal* with any merchant or shopkeeper who shall *import* such manufactures; and that we recommend an adoption of a similar agreement to all our countrymen who regard the commerce and constitution of this country.

“*Resolved, unanimously*, That we highly applaud the manly and patriotic sentiments of our several corps of Merchants, Independent, Dublin, Liberty, and Goldsmiths’ Volunteers, and heartily thank them for their demonstration of zeal and ardor in the cause of the country, and that we shall ever be ready to join with them in defending our rights and constitution, and gladly and cheerfully contribute to protect them from PROSECUTION OR PERSECUTION.

“Signed,

JOHN EX SHAW, Sheriff.”

Barrington, p. 82.

England had to yield up her legislative usurpation; Ireland, by union and patriotism, gained her rights in 1782, from the tyrant England, wrung from her, as we have before said, in the hour of her difficulties, when her armies were vanquished in America. But alas! those rights were again lost in 1800, when England was again powerful. She

broke faith with Ireland, with the same perfidy as she violated the treaty of Limerick, which will remain a monument of shame and disgrace to Britain. That treaty, which is inscribed in the hearts of the people of Ireland, should make England blush, and teach Irishmen that they can never put faith in England. "You must not put trust in princes," says the good book. Indeed Ireland cannot put trust in the princes of England—for the Plantagenets, Tudors, Stuarts and Guelphs, have broken faith with Ireland! Even the formal promises made by Pitt to the *Irish rump*, in 1800, were most shamefully broken. Grattan says, when he beheld the lost independence of the Irish parliament, through the foul corruption of the infamous Robert Stewart, commonly called Castlereagh, "I found Ireland on her knees; watched over her with a parental solicitude. I have traced her progress from injury to arms, and from arms to liberty. Spirit of Swift! spirit of Molyneux! your genius has prevailed! Ireland is now a nation! In that new character I hail her! and bowing to her august presence, I say, '*Esto perpetua.*'" This was in the hour of Ireland's joy. But, alas! how soon had he to lament, where now he rejoiced. To quote his own language: "As he watched over it in its cradle, so he attended it to its grave."

The crafty Pitt resigned rather than redeem his plighted faith with the Catholics. This should teach Irishmen to forget their old differences, old animosities, and foolish divisions, and unite once for all, and in the hour of England's weakness sever the fatal chain which has bound Ireland to England! To cast off with supreme and high disdain and contemptuous scorn the proffered compromises with England! Away with compromise—let us have independence.

Let the glorious Sun-burst float over the castle of Dublin. This should be the aim and object of every true, noble, and patriotic Irishman, who loves his country, and is not a base instrument of the English government and despotism. We have seen from history, that England has violated her treaties with all nations. Therefore the true policy of Irishmen is to keep united, and when they find England involved in some mighty struggle with some great power, then to strike for freedom, for liberty and national independence!

In 1788, the tithe question, which had slumbered since the days of Swift, was agitated by the people. The farmers, who had been groaning under the burden of exorbitant rents, church-rates and tithes, could find no redress from their rulers; they had secret meetings in secluded places, to devise some remedy to rid themselves of this galling yoke—that of supporting a church and clergy to whom they did not belong. This led to the old agrarian secret societies against high rents and tithes. Mr. Grattan made a powerful effort in the Irish parliament to inquire into the subject of tithes, which was lost. For a committee of inquiry, 49; against it, 121.

In 1790, the French revolution, which agitated the continent of Europe and the British Islands, made England tremble, and the ascendancy party in Ireland, on beholding the aspect of the great French drama. The royalists of the kingdoms trembled, lest French ideas would gain ground with the people of the three kingdoms. This was, again, one of England's difficulties. The liberal Protestants of the middle classes—such as Wolfe Tone, and Thomas Addis Emmett, joined the middle class of Catholics, forgetting all religious differences, and formed the “United Irishmen,”

a "committee of the Catholics assembled, called 'the Back Lane Parliament.'" In 1793, the second Catholic reform bill was passed, yet though they were afraid of the French principles, which were spreading fast in the north of Ireland—even now, in the hour of England's danger, when the empire trembled from its centre to its circumference, the Catholics would not get a seat in the Irish parliament! Wolfe Tone and the united Irish raised the standard of revolt. They proclaimed that Ireland should have an "Irish Republic." England had to yield, with much reluctance, this sacred boon to the Irish, not from a sense of justice, equity, or honor, but as a matter of necessity. England will be generous when she is driven to the wall; but in the hour of her prosperity, her former audacity returns—she breaks faith and takes advantage of the divisions of the "Irish of the pale,"—her old favorite maxim and practice being, "*divide et impera*." For we now find the oligarchy pass an arms act, and prohibiting the importation of arms and ammunition. The principles of Democracy became the general theme with men of all classes in Ireland. It divided friends of long standing, both in England and Ireland. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, Addis Emmett, and Wolfe Tone hailed with rapturous delight the prospect of an "*Irish Republic*," the abolition of royalty and nobility, and the inauguration of unqualified Democracy!!

England having been engaged in a war with France, wanted to unite and conciliate the Irish, so that they could gain supplies of men and money, sent over Lord Fitzwilliam for the purpose of holding out a delusive hope to the Irish Catholics, that they would obtain as complete an

emancipation as they afterwards obtained by the agitation of O'Connell and his friends. In 1792, Grattan introduced a Catholic emancipation bill, but the old cry the "church in danger," defeated it by a vote of 155 to 55. Again, in 1796, Grattan's motion for granting equal rights to persons of all religions, was lost, only 14 out of 160 voting for it!

An Insurrection Act, empowering the local magistrates to proclaim martial law and the riot act; the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, showed that the oligarchy were determined, under the influence of English power, to create a reign of terror in Ireland, to make the Irish dissatisfied with the colonial oligarchy. She now played off Orangeman against Defender. This was the plan inaugurated by Pitt for stealing away Ireland's independence! In the great political drama in which Ireland lost her parliament, the most conspicuous champions and instruments in the hands of the English minister, Pitt, was the infamous Robert Stewart, known as Lord Castlereagh. Under the advice of Pitt he laid his plans for the destruction of Irish independence. The castle oligarchy armed the intolerant magistrates with the cruel engines of martial law and the quartering of the yeomanry on the country. Their barbarous outrages were so inhuman and monstrous, that Sir John Moore exclaimed, "If I were an Irishman I would be a rebel!"

In this way they precipitated the country into insurrection—which, if the winds had not driven Grouchy out of Bantry Bay, with his French fleet, Ireland would be severed from England. As it was, it shook the British empire to its centre—for it took the yeomanry, English and Scotch,

amounting to 35,000 men, while the regulars were increased from 50,000 to 80,000, to suppress the rebellion.

The French, on the 13th of December, 1797, under Gen. Hoche, landed in Bantry Bay, with an army of 15,000 men. Their fleet was driven to sea by a violent storm. The fleet returned to France, to the mortification of the United Irishmen.

The Dutch fleet, under De Winter, made an attempt to invade Ireland, but was defeated by Duncan at Camperdown. This was unfortunate for the cause of Irish liberty. The days of "*wooden walls*" are gone, and steam will explode the British empire!!

In November, 1797, Lord Carhampton, being disgusted with the military despotism of the castle oligarchy, resigned as commander-in-chief, and was succeeded by Sir Ralph Abercrombie. He found the tyrants Beresfords and Castlereagh ruling the people with a rod of iron—chastising them with scorpions. He wrote to his son, in confidence, "that the abuses of all kinds I found here can scarcely be believed or enumerated." He draws a most pathetic picture of the grievances and misery of Ireland. In his proclamation of 1798, he said that the Irish army was "formidable to every one but the enemy." For this, and equally strong and pointed language, he was denounced by Castlereagh and his pack as a "sulky mule." He finally resigned rather than to be made the instrument of the despotic oligarchy, whose unholy plan was to let a brutish and bloody soldiery live on the disarmed people. This was done for the unholy purpose of driving the people, first to madness, and then to rebellion.

About the beginning of February, 1798, Arthur O'Con-

nor and Father James Quigley were arrested on their way to France. On the 6th of March, the *Press*, the organ of the Dublin United Irishmen, was seized by the government. On the 12th of March, Thomas Reynolds turned traitor, and gave the government such information as led to the arrest of the Leinster delegates, at the house of Oliver Bond.

Addis Emmett and Dr. McNevin were arrested, and Sampson was arrested in the North of England. On the 19th of May, Lord Fitzgerald was betrayed by a mean traitor of the name of Higgins, and taken by the infamous Majors Swan and Sirr, after a violent struggle.

The most gigantic and important insurrection, was that which broke out in the county of Wexford, a county heretofore remarkable for the peaceable disposition of its inhabitants, consisting, for the most part, of those descendents of the Ostmen, Milesian, Norman, Saxon, Welsh, and Flemish. The Flemish, Saxon, and Welsh population preponderated in the Baronies of Fort and Bargy. This county is remarkable for the beauty of the country, with sea-coast, wood, and mountain; fertile fields and meadows, and the clear streams, which flow from the magnificent peak of the far famed, grand and lofty Wicklow Mountains. The road from Dublin to the shire town of Wexford passed through Arklow, Gorey, Ferns, and Enniscorthy. The principal roads in this county, are the Dublin, Ross, Carlow, and Wexford roads. The inhabitants were contented and comfortable, and would not inaugurate rebellion were it not for the arrogant and despotic rule of the local magistrates—those minions of vile British power, inflated with brief authority—an authority which gave those ignorant and nar-

row minded hirelings the sword to plunge into the bosom of the unfortunate and unarmed people.

I will here insert a passage from Cloney's narrative of Wexford, as the author was an eye-witness of the bloody scenes enacted by the ascendancy party, in 1798. He says, as follows :

"The deliberate massacre of a number of innocent and unoffending country people at the pattern of Tallamtown, in the county of Louth, where they were dancing on the green in conformity to ancient custom, the cold-blooded daylight murders perpetrated in the county of Armagh, by the adherents and retainers of the same factions, with perfect impunity, and the dispersion of legal and regularly convened meetings of the military, must convince every man who is not an incorrigible sceptic, that the object of these execrable factions, was either to brake down the spirit of the people by a series of the most humiliating outrages on their persons, or to compel them to raise the standard of insurrection in defence of their lives and properties."—Cloney's Narrative, preface page 11.

Those murderers went on their midnight rounds, sacking and burning houses, plundering the inoffensive and peaceable inhabitants at will. They were more cruel and barbarous than Goths, Vandals, and Gauls—as fierce as the infuriated and murderous Indians of North America! They spared neither age nor sex, deaf, lame, or blind. The British hireling soldiers were let loose. They may be called the scourge of the people! Conflagration, devastation, and ruin marked the march of the hireling soldiers and blood-thirsty yeomanry! The following will show what the people of Wexford suffered on this bloody occasion :

“Under the ban of a furious Orange ascendancy, and their rapacious satellites, a blood-thirsty yeomanry, and a hireling magistracy, who looked forward to the possession of the property, not only of the Catholics, but of liberal Protestants, either by plunder or confiscation.”

Indeed the colonial jailors never let slip an opportunity to rob their neighbors, if they did not belong to the “understrappers” of modern times, or in former periods to the party of English ascendancy. They were never so happy as when revolution gave them a pretext to rob or exterminate the ancient Irish race!

The United Irishmen was one of the most extensive and well organized associations in ancient or modern times. The representatives were even unknown to their constituents, and the soldiers even were unacquainted with their commanders; the names of the executive committee were unknown to thousands of the members of this formidable but patriotic society of brave and determined men, who strove to sever the dependence of Ireland from the corrupt power of Great Britain. This society will ever be honored by the patriotic youth of Ireland, and revered by old and young until the end of time.

The insurgents meditated an attack upon Dublin itself; but they lacked experience, discipline, and experienced officers; they were badly armed, and ill prepared to meet a concentrated force, under command of Lord Roden. The night of the attack was to be the 23d of May, 1798. A large body of the patriots concentrated at Swords, Santry, and Rathfarnham. Their plan was to take the castle of Dublin by storm and surprise. But their plans were frustrated by a sudden dash by Lord Roden and his cavalry, which,

after a skirmish, dispersed them. This saved the metropolis. We copy the following scene of cruelty and barbarity from the gifted, eloquent, and noble patriot, Barrington, descriptive of the scene in the castle yard, the morning after the encounter, thus:

“A new, disgusting, and horrid scene was next morning publicly exhibited, after which military executions commenced, and continued with unabated activity. Some dead bodies of insurgents, sabered the night before by Lord Roden’s dragoons, were brought in a cart to Dublin, with some prisoners tied together. The carcasses were stretched out in the castle yard, where the Viceroy then resided, and in full view of the Secretary’s windows; they lay on the pavement as trophies of the first skirmish, during a hot day, cut and gashed in every part, covered with clotted blood and dust, the most frightful spectacle which ever disgraced a royal residence, save the seraglio. After several hours exposure, some appearance of life was perceived in one of the mutilated carcasses. The man had been stabbed and gashed in various parts. His body was removed into the guard-room, and means were taken to restore animation. The efforts succeeded; he entirely recovered, and was pardoned by Lord Camden. He was an extraordinary fine young man, above six feet high, the son of a Mr. Keaugh, an opulent landholder of Rathfarnham; he did not, however, change his principles, and was, ultimately, sent out of the country.”

“That morning, the yeomanry corps were called upon to attend the execution of Lord Roden’s prisoners, who were ordered to be hanged from the lamp irons, or on the bridges. It was a service the respectable corps declined; several,

however, went individually as spectators. The first victim to that arbitrary and ill-judged execution was a Mr. Ledwitch, of Rathfarnham, the brother of a Catholic clergyman." (Barrington, 352.)

"He was a remarkably large and heavy person, and was hanged on one of the bridges. By the inexperience of the executioner, Mr. Ledwitch suffered a prolonged and cruel death; the rope frequently slipped, and gave way; at length his legs were tied up behind his back, and after much struggling and dragging, he was dispatched with very considerable difficulty."

"It was a horrible sight."

"Others were executed at the same time; some of the lamplighters also paid with their lives for their former night's omission, and blood began to flow with but little mercy. Bacon (a major of the old volunteers) was caught in a female garb, endeavoring to quit the city, and under a general order to execute, forthwith, all persons found in disguise, he was led to Carlisle bridge, and hanged from the scaffolding. These species of executions became common, and habit soon reconciled men to what was not only disgusting, but horrible."

"Martial law was now proclaimed, and the courts of justice closed, except on civil subjects. The barristers pleaded in their uniforms, with their side-arms; one of the judges (Baron Medge) appeared on the bench in the same uniform; the names of the inmates of every house were posted on every door, fabricated reports of massacres and poisonings were daily propagated; the city assumed, altogether, the appearance of one monstrous barrack, or slaughter-house. The attacks on the royal garrisons in Kildare and Dublin

counties, were in many places unsuccessful; on other points the insurgents entirely succeeded, and no quarter was granted on either side.”—(Barrington, 353.)

Such scenes of cold-blooded massacres drove the people of Wexford to rebellion. Lord Kingsborough and his ever infamous and never to be forgotten bloody “North Cork militia,” goaded the people, and drove them to desperation. The employment of the pitch-cap and triangle was most barbarously and wantonly used. A sergeant of the North Cork militia, named *Tom the Devil*, (I think his name was Swan) was like a demon in human clothing, devising new and diabolical modes of torture. He enjoyed himself by rubbing moistened gunpowder in the hair of his unfortunate victims and then setting it afire, midst the laughter of his heartless, degraded companions. They used to cut the hair short, of persons suspected of being disloyal, and then put a cap of pitch and tar upon their heads. While thus clipping the hair off the heads of the “*croppy*,” they would cut off the ears and the noses. These atrocities were perpetrated with the sanction of the hirelings of the British government—Lord Clare, the Beresfords, and Castlereagh, whose names have become synonymous with all that is infamous. The vile wretches, Lords Clare and Castlereagh, were borne to the grave midst the hootings of the people. Even the viper Castlereagh had the mortification before his death to be defeated as a member for Down; even the defeat was felt by Pitt as a sad blow. Let this be his epitaph, “*Vendidit hic auro patriam.*” Words are inadequate to express the Irishman’s indignation and detestation of the traitorous and villainous Robert Stewart—Lord Castlereagh.

CHAPTER V.

It has been proverbial with the Irish to exclaim, that the people's curse made Castlereagh to cut his throat. At last, forbearance ceasing to be a virtue, the people retaliated—several of the informers had their hair cut in like manner, hence all that wore short hair were called by the nickname of “croppy,” a name given by the “truly loyal” to all who were suspected of hostility to the government. It was a mark of little minds, when unexpectedly clothed with power, to display their petty tyranny; many of the resident magistrates being on a sudden clothed with unbridled and discretionary powers, marched up and down through the country with an executioner, and a rope and gallows to hang any person upon whom suspicion might rest, or to whom the finger of the informer was pointed. They amused themselves by cutting off the hands of their enemies, as they called them, and in their midnight drunken orgies they would stir up their punch with the hands of their foe. They took poor people and used them as targets. If a gentleman should remonstrate against those outrages, he was cast into prison.

There was no fair pretext for this, but the vile spirit of a mere party—a colonial garrison, aided, fed, fostered, protected by the tyranny of England; they trampled on the rights of the majority by the aid of English bayonets. Archibald Hamilton Jacob, of the Enniscorthy yeomen, marched through the country with an executioner, with his ropes and cat o' nine tails.

“Imagination was continually on the stretch, and human

ingenuity exhausted, in the preparation of tortures for their prisoners, which never were surpassed for devilish ingenuity outside the walls of pandemonium. Tacitus has written that Nero ordered the Roman christians to be enveloped in garments saturated with some bituminous liquid, which were then set fire to, and the wearers died midst the flames that issued from these garments, in the most excruciating torments. In one instance, particularly, Tom the devil proved himself not inferior to the imperial monster, in practicing the most refined barbarity. A Mr. Perry, of Inch, near Gorey, a respectable Protestant gentleman, having been made prisoner, and brought into Gorey, this military Beelzebub procured gunpowder, which, after wetting, he kneaded into a sort of devil's pomatum, and besmeared the unfortunate gentleman's head profusely with the horrid compound; he then applied a match or candle to Mr. Perry's *occiput*, which ignited the combustible matter, burned his hair from its very roots, and raised an ulcerous blister from his forehead to the nape of his neck. Several other persons became the victims of the same system of torture, and under the eyes, and with the perfect knowledge of certain magistrates; and what will be said of a government that instead of discarding those wretches with ignominy, when their cruelties were fully known, complimented and rewarded them, and they were allowed to continue to disgrace the commission to the end of their lives."—Cloney, p. 193.

We will again quote from Cloney, who was an eye-witness of the diabolical and inhuman outrages at Wexford:

"The organization of the United Irish system having but partially taken place in the county Wexford, there was no

fair pretext for the persecution of its inhabitants; yet, for some weeks previous to the insurrection, very many were flogged, pitch-capped, half hanged, and otherwise tortured, to extort confessions of what they did not know, and many of their houses and little properties were consumed. Many other innocent persons subsequently suffered from confessions extorted by torture, which, in various cases, the weakness of human nature could not endure.”—Cloney’s narrative of Wexford, p. 10.

The following is from a speech of the Earl of Moira, in the British House of Peers, on the deplorable condition of Ireland, in 1797.

“My Lords, I have seen in Ireland the most disgusting tyranny that any nation ever groaned under. I have been myself a witness of it in many instances; I have seen it practiced and unchecked; and the results of it have been such as I have stated to your lordships. I have said that, if such a tyranny be persevered in, the consequences must inevitably be the deepest and most universal discontent, and even hatred to the English name. I have seen in that country a marked distinction made between the English and Irish. I have seen troops that have been sent full of this prejudice—that every inhabitant in that kingdom is a rebel to the British government. I have seen the most wanton insults practiced upon men of all ranks and conditions. I have seen the most grievous oppressions exercised, in consequence of a presumption that the person who was the unfortunate object of such oppression was in hostility to the government; and yet that has been done in a part of the country as quiet and as free from disturbance as the city of London. Who states these things, my lords, should,

I know, be prepared with proofs. Many of the circumstances I know of my own knowledge; others I have received from such channels as will not permit me to hesitate one moment in giving credit to them." (285-6.)

Can we wonder that the people of Wexford should rebel against the British misrule—no wonder—no wonder that Irishmen, to-day, should remember '98! But to cap the climax of tyranny and oppression of the ascendancy party, they burnt the church belonging to Father John Murphy. This aroused the indignation of the people, which, like some volcano, was for some time collecting its fury, to break out with such violence as startled the British government and its satellites and hirelings in Dublin castle from their self-complacency. The priest, while in sight of his burning church, proclaimed to his people, that it was better to die, like men, on the battle field, than to submit longer to the slow, lingering torture and tyranny of the hireling and unholy instruments of British despotism. That it was better to die a thousand deaths than submit longer to British outrage! That they should resist even unto death, the blood-stained "beasts"—the Jacobs, Gowans, and Whites,—some of the most outrageous magistrates of Wexford. He declared his readiness to lead them to victory or death. This speech was made upon the spot, in sight of the smoldering ruins of his church. Two thousand patriots sprang to his and their country's call. In a few hours the multitude of honest and industrious people were assembled on the memorable Oulart Hill, which lies about midway between the sea and the town of Enniscorthy, and eleven miles from the city of Wexford, famous in history. On the same day, they encountered the North Cork militia, commanded

by Lieutenant Colonel Foote, and the Wexford yeoman cavalry. The patriots fought with that bravery of a people smarting under centuries of wrong; they routed the cavalry, which galloped back to the shire town; they cut up the North Cork militia—only the colonel, one sergeant, and three privates made good their escape. They, the North Cork militia, which was the pass-word of what was wicked and outrageous and infamous, were utterly annihilated, to be remembered in history only to be despised for deeds of wholesale cruelties! So the people had their revenge. Another priest, Father Michael Murphy, finding his church plundered, and the altar desecrated by wretches in human form, joined the patriots at Kilthomas hill, near Carnew. The glare of the bonfires lighted the whole country for miles, like so many fires from the Danish watch-towers of yore. Horns were sounded, which filled the midnight air with that solemn warning that the people, groaning for years under the tyrant's lash, had resolved to be free. Horses galloped with the awful news that war had begun—civil war, the most alarming and terrible of all wars—that neighbor was arrayed against his neighbor. The people had a few pensioners, who had seen service, in their youth, fighting for England's supremacy, but now in their old age were to aid their countrymen, and give them an *idea* of military experience. The Irish are pre-eminently military; they love war. It takes but a very short time to teach Irishmen military science. Their bayonet charge, or even their charge with the time-honored pike, makes them a terror to the enemy. In the town of Enniscorthy, there were within its gates and walls, 300 North Cork, 200 Donegal, 700 local militia, with a strong garrison, with its tow

ering ramparts and bristling cannon ; yet a multitude of country people, led on by ages of bloodshed, and slaughter, and tyranny, took the town, after four hours fighting ! What will not Irishmen do when united ; what power can defeat them, with equal numbers, on a fair field ! “Exchange officers and we will fight the battle over again,” may be repeated now, as well as on the fatal banks of the Boyne.

The patriots gained another signal victory over the royalists at the “Three Rocks” mountain, where they captured three howitzers, eleven guns, and several prisoners. The patriots formed three camps on the ever and far-famed Vinegar Hill. Of the first camp we mention the names of the illustrious patriots, Fathers Kearns and Clinch ; of the second, Father Philip Roche and Bagnal Harvey ; of the third, Fathers John and Michael Murphy. It was agreed that the third division should move on Dublin, by way of Arklow and Wicklow ; the second to move by Newtownbarry, to open a connection with Carlow, Kilkenny, Kildare ; the first division was to attack New Ross, and open a communication with Munster. The northern division, marching on to Gorey, were met within four miles of the town by General Loftus, who repulsed them, and compelled them to fall back. The royal troops following up their victory, were ambuscaded at a defile and winding pass—the famous Tubberneering. The road winds its serpentine way through a shrubbery, and the road, in the bottom, was embanked with a dyke and ditch, behind these fastnesses, and as the elated and self-confident Walpole rode along into this trap, he was startled with a volley. From the shrubbery, and dyke and ditch sprung the pike-men, mowing down their

foe with their glittering steel, which shone refulgent from the rays of the sun. The victory was complete. Walpole fell, with several of those who immediately surrounded him. The ancient Britons were nearly cut to pieces. The patriots captured three guns from the enemy, which they turned on the fugitives; they also took great spoil, and the regimental colors. Had they followed up this victory, they might have captured even Dublin itself, were they well disciplined!

On the 5th of June, the patriot army captured New Ross, driving out the royal army, which was 1,400 men strong. But here a sad mishap marred the victory; for want of discipline the Irish lost New Ross. Father Philip Roche, dissatisfied with Harvey's mismanagement, established a separate command of his own. Here the patriots made a mistake in putting the command in the hands of such men as Harvey. They always lost by confiding too much in aristocratic leaders! This should be a lesson which the Irish should never forget, for the best leaders in all ages are those who sprung from the people. Such was the case with the great patriots of America—who humbled the proud and defiant powerful lion; they lowered the flag of St. George to make way for the American Eagle and the glorious Stars and Stripes. Long may they wave. Thus, the loss of Ross prevented the patriots from forming a junction with Waterford and the Fort of Duncannon. In consequence of this, Waterford did not rise, as was expected, and, as there was no communication with Munster, there was no general uprising; besides, they were awaiting the arrival of a French fleet, with men and arms. Wexford was blockaded by the British navy.

General Needham left Dublin with a force of 2,000 men. The patriots attacked this army at Arklow, where Father Michael Murphy fell, at the head of his men, in a fierce and brilliant charge. The patriots lost heavily in this battle, and were forced to fall back on Vinegar Hill.

To dislodge this camp, the whole available force of militia and regulars, within fifty miles of Vinegar Hill, were, by the orders of General Lake, the commander-in chief, General Dundas, with the Wicklow forces, was to join General Loftus, at Carnew. General Needham was to advance to Gorey; General Johnson at Ross, with Sir James Duff and Sir Charles Asgill, was to occupy Gore's bridge; Sir John Moore was to unite with Johnson and Duff to attack the camp of Carrickbyrne. These forces were to attack the forces of the patriots on Vinegar Hill, on the 20th; but the Irish attacked Sir John Moore on the 20th, at Carrickbyrne. The patriots would have vanquished Moore only for the arrival of Lord Dalhousie with Irish reinforcements. Gen. Needham failed to come up in time to invest the hill. The forces of Sir James Duff, Lake, Wilford and Dundas attacked the patriot camp at the same time. After a fierce struggle, the patriots retired from the field, by the unguarded gap, left open by the non-arrival of Gen. Needham. Here the patriot, Father Clinch, fell in a hand to hand fight with Lord Radon, whom he wounded, but was, at the same time, shot by a hireling trooper. After this decisive battle, the patriots scattered—some surrendered; but the authorities violated their plighted faith, and the rules and honors of war. Those who surrendered were executed, and their bodies hung upon gibbets, and their heads put on spears on the court house of Wexford!

The military were now let loose on the defenceless inhabitants. The regulars and savage yeomanry committed acts of the most horrid and diabolical cruelty, which stains the annals of history, ancient or modern. In every civil war, mean, low, contemptible and infamous wretches take advantage of the times to satiate their low desires—to plunder and to indulge their wicked and depraved hearts, by acts of cruelty and despotism. This was the case with the local magistrates and yeomanry of Wexford.

“If the unfortunates who lost their lives at the places before mentioned, had been aware of the wanton cruelties and cold-blooded murders previously committed on the industrious classes, they would have raised their hands to God, in their last moments, and invoked his judgment on these bad men, whose abominable barbarity was the principal cause of bringing them to a premature and melancholy fate. If, at a future period, some accomplished writer should consign to the page of history a record of these horrible atrocities, may he, in a spirit of impartiality, note that the insurgent depot of wounded men was burned, in New Ross, by the military; the insurgent hospital of Enniscorthy was burned by the yeomanry, with its sick and wounded inmates, and that the sick and wounded insurgents in the hospital of Wexford were murdered by the military and yeomanry, when they had repossessed themselves of that town, under the command of Gen. Lake.”—Cloney’s Narrative of Wexford, p. 61.

The same author gives us a further horrible picture of the atrocities perpetrated by the hirelings of the British power; thus:

“The King’s troops, or, rather, some infuriated detach-

ments that had advanced in pursuit of their retreating opponents were still engaged in dispatching the wounded and stragglers who had not been able to get out of their reach, and many of whom sheltered themselves in ditches and hedges near the high road. Mercy at this moment was out of the question. The Turks are reproached as acting with a total disregard for the laws of war and humanity. The picture was here nearly realized, except that the incumbrance of heads and ears returning to camp was omitted. But indeed they were rebels, and mercy to such, it was contended by some, should not be extended by God or man."—Cloney's Narrative of Wexford, p. 68.

Again, he says, "But Sir Charles reserved his troops for an easier victory—the destruction of the defenceless inhabitants of an unoffending and most peaceable district!!! Men, women, and children were butchered on this day, in cold blood; neither age, sex, infirmity, or innocence could obtain exemption from the common fate, and they were slaughtered without mercy. Some of the troops were ordered to the houses of the farmers, accompanied by a villain named Kelly, who had previously lived in the neighborhood, who prosecuted some of his neighbors to conviction, and was now determined to dispatch others of them in a more summary and less expensive way. This monster enriched himself and his companions by carrying off everything portable or of sufficient value to gratify their blood-thirsty avarice, and the several houses they had robbed, before they took their leave, they burned to ashes."

They killed (at Kilcomney) Thomas Myran and his two sons, and robbed and burned their house. They murdered Andrew MacKesý and his sons, and burned their house,

and left two children, both deaf and dumb, without protection. They murdered James and Edward Tuit, two brothers, one of whom was already in bed on the point of death ; and murdered James and John Welsh, two brothers, and eleven others, near to Scollagh gap, and wounded others in flying from their cabins, many of whom afterwards died. At Ballynasillogue they murdered eighteen of the inhabitants, and of the number were five brothers named Neill, all living in the same house with a widow, their mother, and two female children. The poor widow prostrated herself before the butchers, imploring them to leave her even one son to protect herself and her innocent babes. Their reply was, that they considered it very merciful to spare even herself. There were two carpenters, at the time, at work at Neill's house, and two neighbors who had just walked in, and these were all murdered, making an aggregate of nine men in the one house. The poor widow soon after died of a broken heart, and left her two innocent female children unprotected. They murdered, also, on this townsland, Peter Kinchela, who, at the time, was surrounded by seven small children crying in vain for mercy. They also murdered Darby Ryan, who was so timid as to be alarmed at the sight of a red coat at any time ; but he had then recently prepared a subterraneous retreat for the hour of danger, and on seeing some soldiers coming this day, he fled to his cave ; but, unfortunately for him, a neighbor, to whom he had shown it, now occupied his intended retreat ; poor Darby ran from thence to a turf-kish, and got under it. Here he was discovered and shot by those inhuman butchers. Michael Laffan and his daughter were shot dead, and his wife received a shot that broke

one of her thigh bones ; five of his neighbors were also shot in his house, and the house set fire to over the dead bodies. A poor woman had the melancholy and difficult task to perform, of dragging out the dead bodies to prevent their being consumed in the flames. In Coshill, near this place, there were five men murdered. In Lacken, the next townland, there were seven men murdered, among whom were Edmund Joyce and his sons, David, Thomas and Andrew, leaving several young children orphans. In Spaw Hill Phelim Doyle and Patrick Doran, both aged about eighty years, were murdered on the same floor. In the same place Patrick Fitzpatrick and his wife Margaret fell dead in each other's arms. The poor wife seeing the savages approach her husband, ran between them with an infant at her breast, supporting it with one hand, while she threw the other round her husband's neck, crying out for mercy for the father of her infant and five other small children. She was repeatedly threatened with death if she did not withdraw ; but determined to fall in the arms of her husband, with the innocent babe between them, she heroically kept her ground, and the same bullets put a period to her own and her husband's existence. But here the interposition of providence protected the innocent babe, who afterwards heard and described the melancholy fate of its innocent parents. That child, I am informed, is still living. Poor Terence Fitzpatrick ! The house of the ill-fated couple was set fire to over the heads of the other five children, and the innocent creatures ran into a neighbor's house—who had escaped by secreting himself—crying, *"My daddy is killed ! my mammy is killed, and the pigs are drinking their blood !"*

Those six orphans were thrown on the protection of a poor aunt named Kealy, who begged for them, and brought them up under the protection of an All-merciful Providence, and with the assistance of charitable neighbors. I believe they are still living, to acknowledge the mercy of God and the tenderness and affection of poor Joan Kealy, whose name will be remembered with respect and admiration, while that of the bloody Asgill, the head butcher of the day, in that quarter of Ireland, and the names of his inhuman satellites, will be transmitted to all succeeding ages with sentiments of horror and execration. About one hundred and forty persons were slaughtered in the district which I have mentioned, leaving, perhaps, four or five hundred unprotected orphans, without parent, property, or friend, and few of them having relations to contribute to their safety or support.”—Cloney’s Narrative of Wexford, pp. 84–5–6.

Thus, the reader beholds how those cruel and despotic tyrants did the bloody work of the English rulers on this never to be forgotten scene of slaughter. Can the reader wonder that the Irish are not very loyal to the crown of Great Britain? Can the Irish patriots forget ’98, without wishing for an opportunity to redress the wrongs of their dear fatherland?

Again, the same author describes the wickedness of the blood-thirsty tyrants—the ascendancy party of Wexford:

“It was the interest of some of the petty tyrants there at that time, as in other quarters, to keep the country in a state of confusion; bankrupts in fortune and character, the most degrading offices, accompanied by a share of public spoliation, had nothing in them disagreeable to such gentry.

These folks, it must be allowed, acted their parts to the life, and without caring for the prosperity of the State, or possessing much of genuine loyalty, which they used as a watch-word to the sovereign, they dreaded nothing more than returning peace, and took every means in their power to prolong that anarchy which they labored early to excite. Every well disposed man saw, with sorrow, this state of things, and looked with indignation and horror on that system that he was unwillingly obliged to submit to.”—Cloney’s narrative of Wexford, p. 97, 8.

We will here say that the great mistake made by the patriots, was to attack the enemy in open-field fights. They should have wearied them with ambuscade and desultory warfare. They would have tired the patience of the regulars and destroyed their local tyrants, the blood-stained yeomanry. In this way they could have held out till the landing of the French in Killala, when they would have roused the enthusiasm of the provinces. Had they held out till reinforced by France, they would have dismembered the British Empire!!

Though the patriots could reckon on numbers—though their pikes were formidable—their arms were of every description and calibre. Their supplies of ammunition were scant. They had to carry their powder in horns in their pockets, while the royalists were under experienced officers, subject to military discipline and subordination, well armed and equipped, with cannon, stores, and munitions of war, which could be furnished at an hour’s notice. The loyalists had all the advantages of the tactics of modern warfare,—the patriots had nothing but their natural bravery, impetuosity, and love of freedom, and the recollection of centu

ries of wrongs, and the hope to rid themselves of their tyrannical aristocracy and despotic government! Had the patriots been victorious at Arklow, they would have been reinforced on their march to Dublin, by the United Irishmen, to the very walls of Dublin; for the United Irishmen were in great numbers in Wicklow, Kildare, Meath, and Westmeath—but they had no point to rally around—they wanted a military head to unite the scattered fragments and consolidate its forces. They wanted victory to give them enthusiasm and hope, which would enable them to gain a decisive victory over the ancient enemies of Erin! Had the patriots taken Ross, they would have taken Waterford, and opened a communication with Tipperary and the rest of Munster, where the people were ready to rise *en masse*. This would open a communication with Connaught. Ulster was ripe for a revolt. The nation wanted but a concentration of forces—a French army with experienced officers, to crush the power of England, and give Ireland her station among the sisterhood of nations, as a glorious and grand republic!! But the brave men of Wexford lacked an experienced military commander. They lacked an O'Neil, or a Sarsfield. For the incompetent Harvey, as did James II. at the Boyne, remained a spectator, on a hill, during ten hours hard fighting—the battle was lost through his incompetency. Ireland lost the opportunity to gain her independence by trusting to the aristocracy—to the incompetent Harvey. For Harvey might have slaughtered the whole garrison had he returned with his men the night of the battle of Ross, while the garrison was so exhausted that the soldiers slept among the dead. This same Harvey should teach Irishmen not to choose their leaders from the aristocracy.

They should remember how the brave heroes of 1782 were betrayed by the weak-minded Charlemont. How he dissolved the council of three hundred armed delegates, the representatives of 150,000 well armed and disciplined volunteers, who met at the Rotunda, in Dublin, to resist the corruption of the British government, in the unholy efforts to steal away the Irish parliament, and to blot out the Irish nation from the map of Europe, and reduce her to a province. That was a fatal affair for Ireland, for England trembled, for then she saw that Ireland had power to sever the connection between England and Ireland. England felt, then, her own weakness—she was surrounded by foes—she was humbled by land and sea. Her empire over the American colonies ended—she saw, with an eye of despair, a few poor but brave and patriotic, and hardy pioneers, planted in America by English despotism and intolerance, rise to the dignity of a free and mighty republic! She feared that the Irish would profit by the example of the patriots of America. That some Washington would be found among them to battle for liberty. To prevent this, England found an instrument in the weak, imbecile, and aristocratic Lord Charlemont. Irishmen, beware! do not trust your liberty to an aristocracy, who hate equality, democracy, and a free republic. How can the Irish but admire the valor of their countrymen. Had Harvey the courage of the noble boy of thirteen summers, who, seeing the incompetency of the Irish commander at the battle of Ross, snatched a standard and exclaimed: "Follow me, who dare!" and dashed down the hill with three thousand pike-men, the Irishmen would be victorious at Ross!

June 21, Cornwallis assumed civil and military power in

Ireland. He appointed Robert Stewart, better known to Irishmen, as Lord Castlereagh, as his secretary; because "he was so unlike an Irishman." Father John Murphy was taken and executed, his body burnt, and his head impaled on the market-house of Tullow! Several others of the patriots suffered death by military drum-head courts-martial. The Wexford rebellion was crushed for the want of money, arms, and ammunition, and, as we have said before, for the want of discipline and experienced officers!

The struggle in Ulster lasted but a little over a week; only the counties of Down and Antrim had a general rising, in consequence of some of the leading United Irishmen being in prison. The principal engagement was at Ballynahinch; the patriot leader, Munroe, was captured and executed at his own door, in Lisburne, in sight of his wife and mother! In Munster the Westmeath yeomanry had an engagement with the patriots, on the road from Clonakilty to Bandon. Thus was the flame of revolution smothered, in Leinster, Ulster, and Munster.

CHAPTER VI.

We now turn to the old and time-honored kingdom of Connaught, which, from the nature of the country and other causes, the ascendancy party—the vile and hateful oligarchy—had not taken root. They were not annoyed by the yeoman cavalry, whom they could defy among their mountain fortresses. But the persecution of the ascendancy party in Ulster had driven many fugitives from

their homes and firesides to find shelter in the mountains of the Kingdom of Connaught. Several thousands fled into Connaught in '95, '96 and '97 from the outrages of the ascendancy party. They were not slow to depict, in pathetic colors, their oppressors and oppressions which drove them from their native Ulster. They persuaded the people of Connaught, that, with French aid, they would be able to establish independence, under the green flag of Erin! The people were thus ripe for revolution, when the French landed at Killala Bay, August 22. The French landed from three frigates, commanded by Gen. Humbert, with 1,000 men and with arms for 1,000 more. The French were immediately joined by McDonnell, Moore, Bellew, Barrett, O'Dowd, O'Donnell, Blake and Plunket. In three days the French had completed a lodgment, and had organized recruits, and had sent out a party of observation. On the fourth day they had taken Castlebar.

The intelligence of the landing of the French had spread through the country like wildfire. Lord Lake and Gen. Hutchinson, with 3,000 men, marched to attack the French at Castlebar. They were attacked by the French and the patriots of Connaught—the descendants of those whose ancestors had so long and so gloriously defied British tyrants, for centuries—now approached Castlebar. The royalists were posted on advantageous ground with nine pieces of cannon. The French drove them, after half an hour's engagement, panic stricken. They appeared more like an armed mob than soldiers. Their flight was so precipitate and disgraceful that they left their artillery behind, which was captured by the French. In this shameful flight the infantry were huddled together. They fled *pell mell*.

Some of them did not stop until they reached the town of Athlone, on the Shannon. The flying fugitives were so panic stricken that the occasion is known as "the races." The yeomanry lost, killed and wounded or prisoners, 18 officers and 350 men, five stand of colors and fourteen British guns.

This brilliant French victory roused the dormant spirit of the rebellion, whose waves had greatly receded. There were 40,000 men ready to assemble to strike a blow for the native soil, at Crooked Wood, in the county of Westmeath. An army of this magnitude, within 42 miles of Dublin, with a spirit of rebellion extending from north to south, and from east to west, like some some silent volcano, waiting for an eruption, startled the government from its complacency. Lord Cornwallis ought to have remembered his defeat on the James, at the memorable battle of Yorktown, where he was compelled to surrender the flower of the British army to the immortal Washington. The scene of Yorktown haunted his imagination. He dreaded the French, so he called together 20,000 men to oppose 900 Frenchmen!

The patriots now established a provincial government at Castlebar, with Moore as President. A proclamation was issued, calling for recruits to be paid by French assignats, to be repaid by the Irish Republic! All of the royal party moved on Connaught. Sir John Moore and Hunter were ordered to the Shannon, from Wexford. Taylor was to advance from Sligo, with 2,500 men, on Castlebar. Maxwell was ordered from Enniskillen, to occupy Sligo, and Nugent was to move from Lisburn and occupy Enniskillen. The Viceroy left Dublin to Killbeggan, and Lake and Hutchinson were to attack the French from Tuam.

Thus, the French, who were left without means of retreat, having sent back the frigates, after the landing, found themselves in about the same position which Cortez found himself, when he marched to take the city of the Montezuma. Here, cut off from all supplies, a few French veterans, and a few recruits, were surrounded by thirty thousand royalists. The French general attempted to reach Leitrim, and from thence to Ulster on the north coast, where he hoped to get some aid from France. He marched from Castlebar to Coolony, in one day—a distance of 35 miles. Harassed by the militia he reached Ballinamuck, in the county of Longford, having marched 110 miles in the short space of three and one-half days. Here he was forced to make a stand. After fighting with true French valor, he surrendered on condition of being sent to France. No quarters were given to the patriots—many were sabred and others were executed—such was their insatiable thirst for human gore! At the capture of Killala hundreds of the innocent and defenceless inhabitants, who had never taken up arms, were butchered in cold blood! What wonder that the Irish should hope for the time when they can sever the last link which binds Ireland to that accursed throne of blood-stained and tyrannical Britain!

Napper Tandy, with a single armed brig, landed on Rathlin Island, where he issued a proclamation with the glorious date, “the first year of Irish liberty.” On discovering the fate of Humbert, he returned to France. Theobald Wolfe Tone sailed from Brest, with a French fleet under Admiral Bourpart, with one ship carrying 74 guns, eighteen frigates and two small vessels. They steared for Lough Swilly, where they met a British fleet, which had followed

them for several days. After an engagement of six hours the Hoche was disabled, and was compelled to surrender, with three frigates—the rest of the fleet got safe to France. Wolfe Tone was recognized by Sir George Hill, an old college friend. He was taken to Dublin and sentenced by court martial, to be hanged. He only begged that he might receive the death of a soldier, “to be shot by a platoon of Grenadiers.” This favor being denied him, he attempted to commit suicide. He lingered of his wounds for a week, and died, on the 19th day of November, 1798. This closed the memorable year of 1798. Lord Edward Fitzgerald died of the wounds received in the house of Oliver Bond, in his conflict with those who arrested him, Sirr, and the infamous scoundrel, villain and brutal ruffian, Swan. The name of Swan will be ever associated with that of the traitor Arnold. Had the fortunes of war been more propitious to the cause of the patriots; had the French fleet landed in Ireland and displayed the same bravery as Humbert after he landed in Killala, immediately after the victory of Arklow, there would be a general rising of the people in the four provinces of Munster, Leinster, Ulster, and Connaught. The patriots fresh from the victory of Arklow, could have taken Dublin, Waterford and Killkenny. The English power would for ever be broken in Ireland. It would be such a decisive victory as Brian gained over the Danes at Clontarf. The English would be remembered as the Danes now are, merely for their despotism and tyranny and oppression !

England was then saved by her old ally the winds,—but she cannot now rely on winds or weather. The winds will no longer protect her. Steam will yet enable some power

to send a fleet to Ireland! Then will the Irish be able to fight over again the lost cause of 1798! The darkest hour is before midnight. We now behold the clouds of oppression over Ireland showing a brighter aspect. Let us inscribe on our banner the memorable motto of the patriot Wolf Tone, "*nil desperandum*." Let us always impress on the minds of the rising youth of the land, that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. We must be united, and when some happy moment, in the tide of time, gives Ireland an opportunity, let her be ready to strike the decisive blow. England cannot be always prosperous—no nation can. Where is the mighty power of the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Imperial Rome. They now belong to the past. They live only in history. Their light went out. Rome fell by the weight of her own power and greatness. England will share the same fate as those empires. She who has been the oppressor of nations, will one day be oppressed in turn—"He who kills by the sword, must be killed by the sword; and he who leads into captivity, must be led into captivity." Let England be warned in time—why should she be exempt from the fate of other nations? No, no, her destiny is fixed. Her doom is certain; for she will be humbled. "The greater the height, the greater the fall." England now stands on the pinnacle of prosperity and greatness, and power, from which she soon will receive such a fall, from which she can never recover! The only thing that may save her from her impending doom is to do justice to Ireland. Give to Ireland her lost liberty, and Irishmen will forgive the past. Let Englishmen, of the democratic school, unite with the democrats of Ireland to annihilate kingly power—to abolish aristocracy in England

and Ireland. Let the toiling millions of England and Ireland raise the standard of freedom for both countries—a free Republic for England, and a free Republic for Ireland! God save the people!! Look at Spain: once her flag flaunted over Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Austria, and part of Italy—she had empires in the new world. Her galleons came to her shores loaded with the precious ores of Peru and Mexico. She was then the first power in Europe. Where, now, are her foreign possessions—where her mighty navy—where her wealth and power. Ah, let the government of England take warning from the fate of Spain! The Irish must be free—her glorious Sunburst must be unfurled over the Castle of Dublin!

Taking advantage of the great rebellion, which was brought on by the despotism of the Castle oligarchy and their minions, the local magistrates and the brutish yeomanry, Pitt laid his plan for a *Union*. His favorite plan was, to unite the legislature of Ireland with that of England. This ambitious minister chose as his agents the dogmatical, fiery, proud, arrogant, and uncompromising Lord Clare; and the sneaking, adroit, insidious, and polished Robert Stewart, Lord Castlereagh. The corrupt and cunning but faithless Castlereagh has well earned the curse of posterity. His name stands in history as a monument of shame. The people point to his grave with the finger of scorn, and say here lies a traitor to his country! His name will always be associated with that of Dermond McMurrough as an arch traitor and unprincipled villain, and unmitigated scoundrel!

On Lord Cornwallis' arrival the parliament assembled which was soon to commit suicide. Both Houses voted

loyal addresses to the King and the Lord Lieutenant. One million pounds were liberally voted to those who had suffered from the insurgents, without a dissenting voice. In July a code of penalties and proscription was passed. An act was passed to indemnify all the unprincipled magistrates, who had "exercised a vigor beyond the law." Here we find a Parliament deliberately legalizing the barbarous outrages committed on the defenceless people. Acts of cruelty which would make demons blush! Such is the deplorable condition of a country, when a petty oligarchy rules with a high hand a whole nation, by brute force of foreign bayonets—not by their own power but by the power of the British throne. Those colonial usurpers knew that they held in their grasp the lands and homes of the natives. That their possession of these lands might be disturbed if England lost her dominion over Ireland! No wonder they should show such feverish anxiety whenever the Irish patriots attempted to gain their independence. In the Irish Parliament an act was passed for the attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. An act of banishment was passed. An act was also passed inaugurating the terrors of martial law. An act was passed to compel certain refugees abroad to surrender. And to cap the climax, the king commanded that the name of Henry Grattan be struck from the roll of the Irish Privy Council! This foolish old king was frantic with rage and prejudice against everything Irish—indeed it spoiled his digestion. Ireland hung over his benighted imagination like the pall of death. He was, indeed, the poor old Brunswicker, a perfect hater of the Irish nation. We must here remark that England, in 1798, violated her plighted faith solemnly pledged to

Ireland in 1782. This should be a warning to Irishmen for ever. The Irish could, in 1782, sever the link which bound them to England, and follow the example of Washington and his compatriots and nobly strike for eternal separation. For the Irish nation had then an army able to cope with England in the hour of her weakness. Ah, but they put their trust in England, they believed she would have kept her word. Had they not the example of Limerick before them—could they not have remembered England's perfidy—could they not remember "the city of the violated treaty."

We will now come to another act that revived the spirit of rebellion in Ireland. The people who were goaded by the despotism of the local magistrates, as well as by the judges. For Lord Norbury was a second Jeffries! This legal Nero, together with the *three Majors*, was more cruel than the pagans of yore. The reign of the "three Majors" will never be forgotten by the people of Dublin—the vulgar, brutal, vile, villainous, bloody and unprincipled viper Swan; the perfidious and base scoundrel Sirr; and the cut-throat Sandys, were the terror of the people of Dublin during this reign of terror. These brutes in human form, whose names will be ever odious to the people of Ireland for their fiendish outrages on the unarmed and innocent people, during those evil times of rigor and despotism—those three ruffians were militia officers and were the rulers of Dublin, under the renegade Castlereagh. They had, as satellites, a band of informers and spies, known as the "Battalion of Testimony." Those reckless, depraved and infamous wretches were known as the "Majors' people." They had their quarters under the windows

of the Secretary, Castlereagh, in the Castle of Dublin, even under the windows of the Lord Lieutenant's palace. One of those quarters are known to the present day as the "Stag House." The bloodhound Swan and his confederates used every device known to refined cruelty to extort confession from persons merely suspected of being United Irishmen. His murderous triangle was erected under the very window of the vile and infamous Castlereagh, where he could hear the moans of the people, while flogged and tortured to death. This villain Swan took exquisite delight in scourging his unfortunate victims—he made free use of the pitch-cap. He was a demon in human clothing. He was more of a villain and cut-throat than the viper "*Tom the Devil!*"

Indeed, I am of opinion that this viper Swan was a relative and of the same family as the infamous "*Tom the Devil.*" The "Major's" people broke into houses, under the pretense of searching for obnoxious persons and papers—in one instance they took possession of a silver cup because it had engraved on it the words Erin Go Bragh!

The Irish never lost hope of a French invasion until the great Napoleon was sent to St. Helena. A young man of twenty-four years was the chief actor in the next rebellion. This was Robert Emmett, whose name will ever be associated with the names of all true Irish patriots. Emmett, with nineteen others, was expelled from Trinity College, in 1798, by orders of the haughty Lord Clare. He had traveled through Holland, France, Spain and Switzerland. In 1803, after a peace of twelve months, a declaration of war was proclaimed, at London, between England and France. In anticipation of this hostility Emmett had

returned to Dublin, in 1802, to establish the organization of the United Irishmen.

By the permission of Bonaparte, McNevin and others formed a legion in France. Arthur O'Connor and Thomas Addis Emmett remained in Paris as plenipotentiaries of the Irish Republic. Bonaparte suggested that the patriots should raise, when fighting on their own soil, a tri-color flag with the inscription, the initials R. I., *Republique Irelandise*—*L'Independence de l'Irlande—Liberti de Conscience*. Robert Emmett was sanguine to enthusiasm that nineteen counties would rise after his return to Dublin. And if he got the forces he expected from France, his fond and most cheerful anticipations would be realized. His plan was to surprise the castle of Dublin and seize the authorities. They expected that a French invasion would draw off the regular army. But the plan was discovered and Emmett arrested. His trial and death speech has immortalized his name. His speech is read with rapture and enthusiasm, which still inspires the youth of Ireland with fond hopes that they may see their country free, and Robert Emmett's epitaph written! His name is associated with that of the heroes, Owen Roe O'Neil and Hugh Roe O'Donnell. Thomas Moore and Washington Irving have done honor to his name and memory. The true and noble minded Irish, both in Ireland and America, will always honor the memory of Robert Emmett! Thus ended the great party of United Irishmen, but the spirit of liberty has not expired. The deeds of the United Irishmen will always stimulate Irishmen to strike for the freedom and independence of their dear fatherland!!!

"Not on the battle field, not in the prison van,
The noblest place for man to die, is where he dies for man."

CHAPTER VII.

We will here give an account of the massacres of Wexford, in 1798, from an eye witness:—

“Statement of outrages perpetrated by the magistracy, yeomanry, and king’s troops, in the county of Wexford, in the year 1798:—

Page 64. Driscoll, a hermit, from Camlin Wood, flogged and half-hanged three times by Tottenham’s Ross yeomen.—Alexander. - - - - - 1

Page 65. Fitzpatrick, a country school-master, flogged by same.—Ditto. - - - - - 1

Dennis M. Donnell dropped dead in a grove, near Mr. Gordon’s house, with fear of being flogged.—Gordon. 1

Doctor Healey, a most respectable and inoffensive gentleman and physician, flogged almost to death by the Ross yeomen.—Hay. - - - - - 1

Flogged by a corps of yeomen, under the superintendence of a magistrate in the neighborhood of Enniscorthy, as it appeared on the trial of Appeals at Wexford, under the Insurrection Act, on the 23d of May, 1798.—Private memoranda. - - - - - 17

Page 70. Flogged to death by Hunter Gowan’s yeomen, a peasant, whose finger was brought into Gorey by Gowan, on the point of his sword.—Hay. - - - - - 1

Page 76. Burned from its roots by Tom the Devil, of the South Cork militia, the hair of Mr. Perry’s head, who was afterwards hanged.—Hay. - - - - - 1

Flogged and pitch-capped in the town of Carnew, before the insurrection.—Private mem. - - - - - 14

Page 78. Flogged almost to death by a corps of yeomen, commanded by a magistrate at Ballaghkeene, on the 24th of May, 1798.—Hay. - - - - - 2

Page 79. Hanged in the town of Enniscorthy by the yeomen, previous to the insurrection, without trial.—Hay. 2

Shot by the Wexford yeomen cavalry, in cold blood, the day they arrested John Calclough.—Hay. - - - 6

Shot at Dunlaven, by the yeomanry, without a trial.—Hay. - - - - - 34

Page 76. Shot on the 28th of May, 1798, in the ball-alley, at Carnew, without any form of trial.—Hay. 28

Shot by Hawetry White's yeomen, on the 27th of May, between Oulart and Gorey, men and boys.—Hay. - 22

Page 135. Shot in Gorey, by the Tinnehely and Wingfield yeomanry, and without trial, 11 farmers, who had been taken out of their beds within 6 miles and a half of the town.—Hay. - - - - - 11

Page 150. Shot by the military, at New Ross, General Harvey's Aide-de-Camp, Mr. Matt Furlong.—Private memoranda. - - - - - 1

Hanged in Enniscorthy, a drummer of the North Cork militia, for refusing to beat his drum to the tune of the Boyne Water.—Hay. - - - - - 1

Page 153. Burned by the military, at New Ross, wounded men who had taken refuge there during the battle.—Hay. - - - - - 78

Page 158. Shot by the yeomen of Gorey in his own garden, Mr. Kenny of Ballycanew.—Hay. - - - 1

Shot by the Newtownbarry yeomen, in the town, after the retreat from Vinegar Hill, and left in the streets to be torn by pigs.—Hay. - - - - - 9

Shot by Ogle's Blues at Mayglass, in running away from Wexford.—Hay. 2

Shot by the military and yeomen at the same place, seven men and four women.—Hay. 11

Page 165. Shot near Scarawalsh, an idiot, nephew to the parish priest.—Hay. 1

Violated and murdered, near Ballaghkeene, by the Hampshire Dragoons, after the retreat from Vinegar Hill, seven young women.—Private memoranda. 7

Bayoneted in Enniscorthy, after the defeat at Vinegar Hill, by the military, twelve men and three women.—Private mem. 15

Murdered in the neighborhood of Limerick Hill, by the army encamped there.—Private mem. 13

Burned in the Insurgent Hospital at Enniscorthy, by the military and yeomen, after the defeat at Vinegar Hill.—Private mem. 76

Shot by the yeoman infantry and cavalry, in cold blood, in the retreat from Killthomas Hill.—Private mem. 42

Murdered on the road between Vinegar Hill and Gorey, after the defeat of the insurgents, by the yeomanry, sixteen men, nine women, six children.—Private mem. 31

Murdered in the Hospital of Wexford, by the yeomen and military, after General Lake entered the town, sick and wounded men.—Private mem. 57

Shot by the yeomanry in the village of Aughrim, nine men and three women.—Private mem. 12

Shot at Moneyhore, at Mr. Cloney's house, a very old sportsman, who came from the county Carlow, to inquire for the author called Shawn Rooe, alias John Doyle.—Private mem. 1

Shot at the same place, an aged and most innocent and inoffensive man with a large family, Richard Mullett, and while struggling for death, a pike thrust through his nose into his head, by which he died in the most excruciating torture.—Private mem. - - - - - 1

Shot by the Kings County militia and some yeomanry, near Carrigrew, disarmed insurgents.—Private mem. 28

Shot by the military, near Killoughrim Woods, industrious, inoffensive farmers, entirely unconnected with the persons concealed in those woods.—Private mem. - - - 38

Murdered by the supplementary yeomen, alias the black mob, between Gorey and Arklow, seventeen men and five women.—Private mem. - - - - - 22

Men, women and children, - - - - - 726

Murdered at Kilcomney, by Sir C. Asgill's troops, at least, - - - - - 140

866

—Cloney, 216-17-18 and 19.

A list of Roman Catholic chapels burned by the military and yeomanry, in the county of Wexford, in the years 1798, 1799, 1800 and 1801:

Boolovogue, 27th of May, 1798, - - - - - 1

Maylass, 30th May, - - - - - 1

Ramsgrange, 19th June, - - - - - 1

Drumgoold, 21st June, - - - - - 1

Ballymurrin, 21st June, - - - - - 1

Gorey, 24th August, - - - - - 1

Anacurragh, 2d September, - - - - - 1

Crane, 17th September, - - - - - 1

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rock, 12th October, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Ballyduff, 10th October, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Riverchapel, 10th October, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Monaseed, 25th October, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Cloogue, 26th October, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Killereny, 11th November, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Ferns, 18th November, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Oulard, 28th October, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Castletown, 28th October, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Ballygarret, 15th January, 1799, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Ballynamoneybegg, 18th January, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Askamore, 24th February, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Murrintown, 24th April, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Mona Moling, 3d May, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Kilrush, 15th May, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Marshalstown, 9th June, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Monfier, 10th June, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Crossabeg, 24th June, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Kilenurin, 29th June, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Monagier, 1st July, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Glanbryan, 13th March, 1800, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Kaim, 13th March, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Ballymakesy, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Courtnacuddy, 12th August, 1801, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |

Davidstown, set fire to but saved.

Burned thirty-three Roman Catholic chapels.

One church old Ross burned in consequence of the murder of an unarmed and inoffensive Catholic by the Ross yeomen,"—Cloney, pp. 220-21.

THE MEMORY OF THE DEAD.

Air—Auld Lang Syne.

I.

“Who fears to speak of Ninety-Eight?
Who blushes at the name?
When cowards mock the patriots’ fate,
Who hangs his head for shame?
He’s all a knave, or half a slave,
Who slights his country thus;
But a *true* man, like you, man,
Will fill your glass with us.

II.

“We drink the memory of the brave,
The faithful and the few—
Some lie far off beyond the wave,
Some sleep in Ireland, too;
All—all are gone—but still lives on
The fame of those who died;
All true men, like you, men,
Remember them with pride.

III.

“Some on the shores of distant lands
Their weary hearts have laid,
And by the stranger’s heedless hands
Their lonely graves were made.
But, though their clay be far away
Beyond the Atlantic foam—
In true men, like you, men,
Their spirit’s still at home.

IV.

“The dust of some is Irish earth;
Among their own the rest;
And the same land that gave them birth
Has caught them to her breast;
And we will pray that from their clay
Full many a race may start
Of true men, like you, men,
To act as brave a part.

V.

“They rose in dark and evil days
To right their native land;

They kindled here a living blaze
 That nothing shall withstand.
 Alas! that Might can vanquish Right—
They fell and passed away:
 But true men, like you, men,
 Are plenty here to-day.

VI.

"Then here's their memory—may it be
 For us a guiding light,
 To cheer our strife for liberty,
 And teach us to unite.
 Through good and ill, be Ireland's still,
 Though sad as their's your fate;
 And true men be you, men,
 Like those of Ninety-Eight."
 —*Spirit of the Nation.*

CHAPTER VIII.

IRISH EXILES ABROAD.

Treachery of St. Laurence—Irish patriots go into exile—
 The homes of Irishmen occupied by strangers—Exiles
 join the armies of France and Spain—The exiles invade
 Ireland—Tyrone's rebellion—The rebellion of 1641—
 England the violator of treaties—Owen Roe O'Neil—
 Siege of Limerick—Irish valor on the battle fields of
 Europe—Sarsfield—Fontenoy—Penal laws—Treaty of
 Limerick—The Irish settlers of America—Irish patriot-
 ism—Irish valor in America—Irishmen fought in the
 war of the American Revolution, and the war of 1812—
 Jackson's victory at New Orleans—Irish exodus—Irish-
 men in the United States—The Kings of England viola-
 ted their promises—Character of King William III.—
 Treaty of Limerick—Test oaths—Rump Parliament—
 Catholics excluded from office—England violates her
 promises—Castlereagh—Irish independence.

The Irish Exiles Abroad.—After the treacherous plot
 of St. Laurence, the O'Neil, O'Donnell and Maguire had to

fly to the continent, where they detailed the sad grievances of Ireland, for centuries. They set forth their grievances under the Plantagenets and Tudors, but in particular under the despotism of the renegade, James I., who had robbed them of their ancient patrimony, giving the same to strangers. Those princes of the old Milesian line, the representatives of the kings of Ulster, whose names rouse the hearts of the Irish with enthusiasm, when we read of their noble deeds of valor in many a battle field against the tyrannical invaders. The tales of Irish woes and sufferings became the theme of comment and enlisted the sympathy of the rulers of France, Spain, Austria, and Rome, in favor of the illustrious exiles, who, to save their lives from the wiles of the "undertakers," resorted to voluntary expatriation. Yet they held out hopes to their countrymen, that at some future time Ireland would, by the aid of foreign powers, banish the "undertakers" from the homes of the Milesians! Those noble exiles, who looked back from foreign shores, in their dreams, on the land of their fathers—the scenes of their childhood, youth, and manhood; on the graves of their fathers. Oh! how they yearned to breathe the pure air of their native mountains. Their prayers were that Ireland should be free, and that their posterity would hurl from power the tyrants and usurpers, who had now occupied the fair lands of their native Ulster! The bard of the house of Tyrconnell, the gifted Owen Mac Ward pours forth the following poetic strain:

"Woe to the heart that meditated, woe to the mind that conceived, woe to the council that decided on the project of that voyage!"

But the illustrious and noble exiles were not destined to

either wreak vengeance on their oppressors and the oppressors of their dear country, or to revisit their native shores. The noble and high-minded O'Donnell died at Rome; Maguire at Genoa; and the immortal O'Neil, blind and careworn—broken down by the toils, cares, and hardships of war at home, expired at Rome, lamented by his countrymen, as the last prince of the descendants of Nial the Grand. What could they do less than lament for the fate of that noble hero, the terror of Queen Elizabeth! The Irish, who were plundered of their homes—who beheld strangers occupying those hills and sloping vales—those fertile fields and blossoming meadows, with castles and ancient monuments—with groves and orchards—whose towns flourished on magnificent rivers and silvery streams, or almost enchanted lakes, made sacred and endearing from thousands of legends. The old and venerable places of learning and sacred grounds, all now occupied or desecrated by a swarm of invaders and “undertakers,” who had thus intruded into the homes of others. It was but natural that the natives of Ulster, when the fortunes of war perched on their banners, would visit the “undertakers” with vengeance, and exterminate them and drive them from their homes and from the green isle, as Brian drove the Danes! This and the tyranny of the British Government, which aimed at nothing short of the total extermination of the whole Irish race, led to the rebellion of 1641. The English Government found that many of the Irish, who were robbed at home, of their estates, and deprived of the right of liberty of conscience—driven homeless exiles into foreign lands—joined the armies of France and Spain and distinguished themselves in the science of war. How

little did the "undertakers" think that those homeless exiles, who had become strangers in a strange land, would revisit the green hills of their youth to strike a blow at British cruelty and misgovernment, and to make a noble effort for the redemption of Ireland from British thralldom, for the cause of civil and religious liberty.

We find in the service of Philip III. of Spain, the sons of the illustrious house of O'Neil, preparing to strike a blow at the ancient but terrible foe of Ireland. The Earl of Tyrone had two sons, Henry and John, who commanded the Irish legions, then in the service of Spain. The most illustrious and distinguished military character in that legion—one whose name has become famous in Irish history—who was a terror to the English government and the "undertakers"—this brave patriot was Owen Roe O'Neil. He was the nephew of Tyrone. By his genius and valor he was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. The Irish exiles in foreign services, in 1630, had attracted the attention of the lynx-eyed spies of the British Government. They reported that "100 Irish officers, able to command companies, and 20 fit to be Colonels, were in the Spanish Netherlands. They speak of many others as Engineers and Captains, of both Milesian and Norman Irish, at Lisbon, Florence, Naples and Milan—that they were provided with arms—that they had in readiness five or six hundred stands of arms, laid up in the Antwerp, for that purpose, bought out of the deduction of their monthly pay." So to the Irish legion may be attributed the stand that the Spaniards made at Louvian, after the Spanish defeat at Avien, which saved the Spanish power in Belgium. Owen Roe O'Neil with his undaunted courage, held Arras, the capital of

Artois, while besieged by the French, under the eye of the King of France! and only surrendered on honorable terms, when they found that they could not be reinforced. This noble and chivalrous O'Neil gave eclat to the Irish at home and abroad, and roused them to make one more noble effort for the freedom and independence of Ireland. The great projector and agent of the exiles for their return to their native land—not with petitions and loyal addresses to the throne—not for the purpose of humble supplication, on bended knees, at the throne of Royalty, oh, no! for they had turned petitions into gun wadding—their orations were from the cannon's mouth—their arguments the sword—their appeals to the God of battles! this agent was the famous "Roger O'Moore," or "Rory O'Moore," famed both in prose and verse. In 1641, Captain O'Neil was dispatched to Ireland by John Earl of Tyrone, for calling on the old followers of the house of O'Neil, to prepare for a general uprising for the liberation of their native land, and for their ancient rights. He brought the welcome intelligence that they would have supplies of arms and money from France. He was dispatched again to France with the promise of Sir Phelim O'Neil and his friends, that they would be ready to strike for the freedom of Ireland on the first day of November.

On the death of John O'Neil the command of the exiles devolved upon Owen Roe O'Neil, of happy memory, who kept alive by his valor and genius the war of the confederates, until he gained the famous, memorable and decisive battle of Benburb. Had O'Neil lived he would be an over match for Cromwell, and would have checked the cruelties of the infamous butcher. We must always

point with pride and fond remembrance to the exiles of that time, who make such a noble and conspicuous figure in the civil war of 1641. Indeed they were the moving spirits of that memorable insurrection—from which England should learn a lesson. It was but natural that the expatriated O'Neils should make an effort for the freedom of their country, and to regain their lost estates, in 1641. Let England remember that the spirit of the O'Neils only slumbers—it will again disturb the composure of British rulers. The Irish should remember that England only eased her chains when it was wrought by force. When did she show any wish to extend either civil or religious liberty, but when forced in battle at the cannon's mouth—wrought from her in many hard fought battles from 1641 to 1649. Not then with a good grace, but in the hour of royal discomfiture, weakness and despair. The treaty of 1649 was soon after violated; in the hour of royal prosperity and security England is, indeed, a truce breaker, a crime detested even by pagans! The Indians of North America, have adhered to their treaties, with more firmness, truth and honor than England! Irishmen will look back with fond recollections on the Irish exiles' campaigns in the wars of Spain, Germany, France and classic Italy, and with a self-reliance and self-denial which should teach us to follow their example, saving their earnings to purchase arms for the freedom of Erin. Let the bright and patriotic example of Owen Roe O'Neil and his brethren in exile, prompt the expatriated sons of Erin to follow their noble and heroic example and patriotism, virtue, and love of the land of their sires; and Irishmen will be respected at home and abroad, and God will eventually deliver them from the vile

hands of their cruel oppressors. Let the Irish parents teach their children to revere the noble Irish exiles, who not only won the everlasting praise and grateful remembrance of their own countrymen, but that of continental Europe and the world. Their names shine forth in letters of light, in the history of Europe, as foremost in the ranks of valor! They returned to their native land with arms in their hands, "besieging not beseeching." We may say of their memory, *esto perpetua*.

We may chronicle the second landing of the exiles at the siege of Limerick. The famous Balldearg O'Donnell, returned from Spain to strike a blow for his country at the siege of Limerick. This representative of the illustrious house of Tyrconnell had at his command 8,000 recruits. This great commander, the grandson of an Irish prince, seeing the cause of Ireland betrayed—and not caring as much for King James as for the cause of Ireland, returned to Spain. It was stipulated at the surrender of Limerick that the garrison was to march out with arms and baggage, with "colors flying, drums beating and matches lighting." Four thousand five hundred marched with Sarsfield and embarked for France. Four thousand seven hundred sailed in a French fleet under D'Usson and De Tesse for France; three thousand sailed with Wauchop; they, with Mountcastle's brigade, gave the French king an army of 25,000 Irish veteran soldiers, with their bosoms heaving with a holy indignation against their old oppressor. These Irish exiles landed in Brest, where they were received with honor, and had the rights of French subjects extended to them. Many of these noble exiles rose to eminent positions in diplomacy and war. Many of the descendants of

those families are now, to this day, some of the most conspicuous characters in France. The O'Neils and McMahons, who won military glory in the wars of Napoleon the Third, in the Austrian and Russian campaigns. Though the Irish was defeated at home they were acknowledged "one of the most warlike of nations." A noble but just tribute from their adversaries.

We will now follow the military career and fortunes of the Irish exiles. The soldiers of Meath and Leinster, commanded by the Nugents and Kavanaghs, joined the army of the Emperor of Austria, who was an ally of King William, in the coalition against France. We find those Irish, who distinguished themselves under Prince Eugene, fighting, as the ally of William, against France. (This was sadness itself.) The O'Donnells, the O'Riellys, and the O'Garas, joined the standard of Spain. They signalized themselves at the memorable and decisive battle of Almanza. Spain had in her service five regiments; three foot and two dragoons. But the grand theatre, where the Irish brigades immortalized themselves, was in the army of France, under the famous Turenne, on the Rhine! They made themselves famous on the battle fields of Savoy and Italy, under Justin McCarthy, Lord Mountcastle.

In 1693 they defeated the allies, killing Duke Schomberg. So they had retrieved the battle of the Boyne, which was fought by the elder Schomberg! Indeed, the memory of the battles on Irish soil stimulated the Irish brigades abroad to retrieve their losses and to wipe out the foul calumny of King James, who said that the Irish could run well—though he himself had won the race! Sarsfield's brigade was employed in Flanders, under Luxembourg, against King Wil-

liam's army at Namur and Enghien. For his great valor, Sarsfield was promoted to Mareschal-de-camp. France defeated the common enemy, July 29, 1693. But while the brave Sarsfield was leading his men to victory, with the talismanic words, "Remember Limerick," he was mortally wounded. As he lay on the ground, prostrate, he took hold of some of his blood, and exclaimed "Oh, that this was for Ireland!"

The exiles distinguished themselves at the battle of Ramillies. There were in the service of Louis XIV, 30,000 Irishmen; and during that century at least 450,000 Irishmen died in the armies of France. Oh, if they had died for Ireland! The Irish exiles fought against the tyrants of England in the reigns of William, Anne and the Georges. They revenged the battles of the Boyne and Limerick, at Almanza, Cremona, and Leden. They had their revenge for the bloody penal code. The stupid and pusillanimous George II. exclaimed, on hearing of the valor of the Irish exiles, "cursed be the laws that deprive me of such subjects."

The Irish exiles filled, with honor, several offices of trust and honor, in Madrid, Paris, and Vienna. Irishmen, as the ambassadors of those countries, thwarted the policy of England on the continent. Thus, the valor, honor, and ability of the Irish gained for their countrymen at home, who were harassed by penal laws, the sympathy of Europe. This should be the great aim of Irishmen, in every clime, to strive by their talents, virtue, ability, patriotism, and valor, to gain the sympathy and esteem of the people of Europe and America. To demonstrate to the world that they are worthy of a better fate. To disabuse the minds of

all thinking men, of the gross, unjust, and foul calumnies hurled against the Irish race by English writers. We should show them that the old cry raised by England, that the Irish are not fit to govern themselves, is a lie. Let us emulate the noble deeds of those exiles who fought at Fontenoy. The Irish Brigade, commanded by Dillion, added to the military fame and glory of Ireland, on the continent. They defeated their hereditary enemies at the battle of Fontenoy, where they defeated the British hirelings and drove them from the field with a loss of fifteen thousand men. It was after this defeat that the imbecile George II. exclaimed, "cursed be such laws that rob me of such subjects!" The cursed laws were the odious penal laws. The aristocracy of Great Britain, after the defeat of Fontenoy, passed an act disabling all Irish officers and soldiers in the Spanish and French armies, who served since 1745, from inheriting real or personal property in Ireland. This intolerant and despotic measure only served the more to alienate the people of Ireland from the crown of England. Irishmen can never, never, forget the odious penal laws, written in blood, until England does full justice to Ireland. That justice is to let Ireland govern herself! To withdraw her army and navy from the sacred soil and shores of old Erin. This is our ultimatum!

Let Irishmen never cease to agitate for Ireland's rights, until she is free, though we should wade through rivers of blood!

"For the arrows of vengeance are showering like rain,
And choke the strong rivers with islands of slain,
Till thy waves "lordly Shannon," all crimsonly flow,
Like the billows of hell, with the blood of the foe!"

Let us watch on the hill-tops, for the bright dawn of Ireland's freedom.

“Freedom's battle first begun,
Handed down, from sire to son,
Though often lost is ever won.”

The year 1731 marks a new epoch in Irish history. We find that the penal test act of Charles II. had excluded from civil and municipal offices, the Presbyterians and Dissenters, as well as the Catholics. This caused thousands of the Scotch-Irish of Ulster, and the Anglo-Irish and Milesian-Irish of the other provinces, to risk the perils of the deep, and seek new homes in the, then, wilds of America! The Irish exodus henceforth helped to settle and clear the forests of Pennsylvania, the two Carolinas, Georgia, Maryland, Virginia, and New England. Those exiles aided to teach George III., that the Irish exiles, banished by cruel laws and despotism, would turn on their rulers, and make the “tyrant feel the pain he gives.” The same spirit that moved the Irish to demand their rights from despotic England, under the lead of Grattan, actuated the Irish exiles to humble British pride on this side of the Atlantic ocean. Oh! will England ever gain wisdom from the past? Will she never become wise? Will she not, even now, take warning from the past; for the Irish of to-day, thank God, can teach Queen Victoria the same lesson that the Irish taught George III. But this time Irish vengeance will prove more fatal to England. Her doom is fixed; her days are numbered; daylight is breaking; the darkest hour is before daybreak: For the Irish in America will yet remember Limerick—oh! the violated treaty of Limerick. Under the great Napoleon the Irish in France rose to

positions of eminence, trust, honor and emolument. Arthur O'Connor was made a General. The younger Tone was promoted Colonel. The descendants of old Irish brigades filled offices of honor and distinction. Spain and Austria were represented at foreign courts by Irishmen. Napoleon speaks of meeting Count O'Rielly, every time he visited the Austrian capital. It was the same O'Rielly who covered the retreat of the Austrians at Austerlitz. Irishmen rose in the Austrian army to the rank of field-marshal.

In 1796, Wolfe Tone went to France to obtain aid for Ireland and to return to his native land with an army of deliverance. For this purpose the Irish exiles went to France to return to fight for their native country in 1798.

CHAPTER IX.

We will find the Irish exiles in America; though they came to find homes in the forests of America, yet, when the opportunity presented itself, both in the war of 1776 and the war of 1812, made England remember the penal laws. The immortal and patriotic Jackson humbled the pride of Great Britain, at New Orleans. Commodore McDonnough whipped the British lion on the great lakes. In the cause of South America the Irish patriots won for themselves and their country immortal fame. The Irish exiles all over the world showed, when an opportunity presented, that they did not forget their native land. That they did not forget to humble the pride of their hereditary

foe—England. It appears that providence guides the destinies of nations, and that what may seem, at first, to be a public calamity, often proves a great blessing. We behold the family of Jacob transferred to Egypt by a direful famine. We find them multiplied in the same land to carry out the divine will—the propagation of the true faith. We find the Irish driven to America by a famine caused by English misrule—flying from their homes, from English despotism, to seek shelter in free America. We again find these emigrants, self expatriated, occupying a conspicuous part in the recent civil war, both in the Northern and Southern armies, where they have distinguished themselves as officers and soldiers. The men who left their peaceful homes in Ireland, during the great exodus in immigrant ships, are now soldiers and statesmen, merchants, lawyers, and business men, prosperous farmers and mechanics, and well-to-do laborers. We have thousands of Irishmen, now in the United States, well versed in the arts of war and waiting for an opportunity to fight over the battles of the Boyne and Limerick and the old cause of 1798. They will not fight for treaties or compromises, or for a domestic parliament. But they will fight for independence. They will fight for an Irish Republic! Ireland for the Irish and let England have England. Ireland must be a separate and independent nation. Ireland with her great national resources was destined by the God of nature to be a great nation—a great republic—she can legislate for herself. The colonies, when they separated from despotic England and established free government, had but about three millions of a population; now what do we behold—we find the republic extending from the St. Lawrence to the Rio

Grande, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Ireland before the famine had a population of about nine millions; she could subsist twelve millions, if all her resources were developed, under free institutions. Why cannot she be free? She can if Irishmen do their duty. If Irishmen are true to themselves, if they bury forever the demon of discord, fomented and cherished by the government of England, since the time of the Norman invasion.

The English government always dreaded the union of the native Irish and the English of the pale, many of whom had become "more Irish than the Irish themselves." To prevent the union of the two races, Edward III. wrote to his Irish Chief Justice the following letter:

"The King to his trusty and beloved John D'Arcy, Justiciary of Ireland, greeting:—

"*Whereas*, it appeareth to us and to our Council, for many reasons, that our services shall the better and more profitably be conducted in the said land, by English officers, having revenues and possessions in England, than by Irish or Englishmen married and estated in Ireland, and without any possessions in our realm of England; we enjoin you that you diligently inform yourself of all our officers, greater or lesser, within our land of Ireland aforesaid; and that all such officers beneficed, married and estated in the said land, and having nothing in England, be removed from their offices; that you place and substitute in their room other *fit Englishmen*, having lands, tenements and benefices in England; and that you cause the said offices for the future to be executed by such Englishmen, and none other, any order of ours to you made in contrary wise notwithstanding."

The Irish of America can free Ireland if they follow the noble and patriotic examples of the Irish who fought on the continent of Europe, if they follow the example of the Irish who fought in the war of the American Revolution, of 1776, and in the war of 1812. One omen of hope for the freedom of Ireland, is that, no matter how much soever Irishmen may disagree on minor topics, yet, when the time comes, that they can strike a blow for their native country, they will not be found wanting. This is my candid conviction. Irishmen love their native fatherland—the more so for her misfortunes. But we must not compromise with England in the hour of our might—for England has broken faith so often that she cannot be trusted. Charles I., and his viceroy, Ormond, broke faith with the Irish. They violated their solemn promises. Charles II. violated his promises made to the Irish, and gave the homes of Irishmen to the murderers of his father and the enemies of his family. King William basely violated the sacred but never to be forgotten “Treaty of Limerick.” His name is associated with spoliation, persecution, violated treaties and broken promises. William had not only violated the treaty of Limerick, but his memory is loaded with the odium of the penal laws, and laws made to annihilate Irish manufactures. The impoverishment of the Irish, which forced thousands to quit their native soil to seek homes in every clime beneath the sun. “His religion was hatred to Papists—his fair fame was stained by faithlessness and cruelty, and he will be forever named in history the treaty-breaker of Limerick, and the assassin of Glencoe.”—Mitchel, page 22.

Yet, we are told that we ought to forget the past. That

Irishmen should be satisfied with the government of England. That we should rejoice at her prosperity. That the prosperity of England is the prosperity of Ireland. That the wealth of England is the wealth of Ireland. But we have found by sad experience, that England has the lion's share of all this wealth.

As the reader has read and heard a great deal about the treaty of Limerick, we will here insert some of the civil articles:

Article I. guaranteed such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they enjoyed in the reign of King Charles II. It further provided, that "their magistrates, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in the kingdom, will endeavor to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of their said religion."

Article II. guaranteed pardon and protection to all who had served King James, on taking the oath of allegiance, as follows:

"I, A. B., do solemnly promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majesties, King William and Queen Mary, so help me God."

Article VII. permits "every nobleman and gentleman compromised in the said articles," to carry side-arms, and to keep "a gun in their houses."

Article VIII. gave the right to remove without search, goods and chattels. •

Article IX. provides as follows: "The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their Majesties' government shall be the oath aforesaid, and no other."

Article X. guarantees that "no person or persons who shall at any time hereafter, break these articles or any of them, shall thereby make or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of them. These articles, which gave to the Irish civil and religious liberty, were signed at the "Treaty Stone," on the Clare side of the Shannon.

On the following February, these articles were confirmed, at Westminster, by the King and Queen. They solemnly declared, that "we do for us, our heirs and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained. And as to such parts therof, for which an act of parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of parliament to that purpose. And whereas, it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to said articles, that after the words Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles, which words having been casually omitted by the writer of the articles, the words following, viz: 'And all such as are under their protection in the said counties,' should be inserted, and be part of said omission, was not discovered till after said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered, and that our said justices and generals, or one of them, did promise that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the foul draft thereof. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viz: 'And

all such as are under their protection in the said counties,' hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, ordering and declaring that all and every person and persons therein concerned shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place in the said second article, any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article in any wise notwithstanding. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these letters patent shall be enrolled in our court of chancery, in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing."

Notwithstanding the said treaty and the solemn pledge of William, the treaty of Limerick was violated in his lifetime! Let those who drink to the health of the immortal William, read the following:

"All attempts at foreign commerce in Ireland were at this time impeded; also by the 'Navigation Laws,' which had long prohibited all direct trade between Ireland and the colonies; no colonial produce, under those laws, could be carried to Ireland until it should have first entered an English port, and been unloaded there. The object of these laws, of course, was to secure to English merchants and ship-owners a monopoly of all such trade, and they had the desired effect, so that a few years afterwards, the Dean of St. Patrick's could truly write: 'The conveniency of our ports and harbors, which nature has bestowed so liberally upon this kingdom, is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon.'"—Mitchel, p. 19.

His reign and that of Queen Anne are the reigns of the odious penal laws! Such is the faith of princes. Can Irish-

men put much faith in the promises of the English government. Can they trust British monarchs! Instead of conferring the treaty of Limerick, the oligarchy, by test of oaths excluded the Catholics from the Irish parliament. So that from 1792 to 1800, the Irish parliament was exclusively Protestant. This same parliament committed suicide in 1800—when this same parliament, representing only a mere fraction of the Irish, sacrificed the nation by the corruption, villainy and subtilty of the “undertaker,” the infamous Robert Stewart, better known as Lord Castlereagh. The following is from John Mitchel:

“In 1692 the Lord Lientenant, Lord Sydney, convened the first Irish parliament of William’s reign. It was the first parliament in Ireland (except that convened by James) for twenty-six years. As there was then no Irish act disqualifying Catholics from sitting in parliament, certain peers and a few commoners of that faith attended, and took their seats; but the English parliament of the year before having provided against this, they were at once met by the oath of supremacy, declaring the King of England head of the church, and affirming the sacrifice of the mass to be damnable. The oath was put to each member of both houses, and the few Catholics present at once retired, so that the parliament when it proceeded to business, was purely Protestant. Here then ended the last vestige of constitutional right for the Catholics; from this date and for generations to come, they could no longer consider themselves a part of the existing body politic of their native land; and the division into two nations became definite. There was the dominant nation, consisting of the British colony; and the subject nation, consisting of five-

sixths of the population, who had thereafter no more influence upon public affairs than have the red Indians in the United States.”—Mitchel, p. 7.

The English government solemnly declared, in the hour of her weakness, that Ireland had a free and independent parliament, free and independent courts of law. In the hour of her weakness, when Ireland demanded her rights, by even armed force, of bold and patriotic volunteers, England repealed the act known in history as Poyning's law. She also repealed the act of 6th, George the First; by which act England claimed the right to legislate for Ireland, through the Irish parliament. But in the hour of her prosperity and security she shamefully violated her former pledges and robbed Ireland of her inalienable rights—of her parliament; by the corruption of her minions she reduced Ireland from the high position of a nation to that of a province! What Punic faith? Can Ireland trust England? Never! Ireland must be free from the thrall-dom of Great Britain. Then, and only until then, can she be secure. Then, and only until then, can she defy her task-masters. Can Ireland trust England? no, never, never. Can she put faith in Britannia? Let the memory of Limerick's violated treaty answer. Irishmen will never be satisfied until they see,—

Ireland as she ought to be,—

“Great, glorious, and free,
First flower of the earth, and first gem of the sea.”

THE DEATH OF SARSFIELD.

Air—Logie o' Buchan.

Sarsfield has sailed from Limerick town—
 He held it long for country and crown;
 And ere he yielded, the Saxon swore
 To spoil our homes and our shrines no more.

Sarsfield and most of his chivalry
 Are fighting for France in the Low Country—
 At his fiery charge the Saxons reel;
 They learnt at Limerick to dread his steel.

Sarsfield is dying on Landon's plain,
 His corslet hath met the ball in vain—
 As his life-blood gushes into his hand,
 He says, "Oh! that this was for fatherland."

Sarsfield is dead, yet no tears shed we—
 He died in the arms of victory,
 And his dying words shall edge the brand
 When we chase the foe from our native land.

—Spirit of the Nation.

O'NIAL'S VOW.

How many a year,
 In fleet career,
 Have circled o'er its blackened strand
 Since first that vow,
 Forgotten now,
 Was plighted to our native land;
 And still the crimes
 Of those dark times
 Are perpetrated hour by hour,
 And Saxon fraud,
 By God unaw'd,
 Goes hand in hand with Saxon power.

What lesson stern
 Thon'st left to learn,
 Oft baffled, but unyielding king,
 "In peace or strife,
 In death or life,
 The Saxon bears a poisoned sting.
 Then weal or woe,
 Strike home the blow,

And win at least the hero's fate,
 And far on high
 Your destiny
 Shall rank with stars of loftiest state."

O'Nial swears
 The crown he wears,
 While throbs one pulse, or heaves one breath,
 To meet thy band
 With glove and brand,
 Invading brigand to the death,
 Nor length of years,
 Nor blood nor tears,
 Defeat, disaster, nor distress,
 Shall mar the word
 Pledg'd on the sword
 He clutches for the merciless.

—*Spirit of the Nation.*

CHAPTER X.

THE UNION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Castlereagh's treason—Bribery and corruption—Castlereagh's promise to Catholics—He creates new offices—The bar against the Union—Honors conferred on those who supported the Union—Orangemen played off against Catholics—Lord Clare and Castlereagh the instruments of Pitt—Rotten boroughs—Military officers returned to Parliament—Increase of Irish debt—Ireland lost everything by the Union—The Union Jack—High taxes—Unequal rights.

We have already incidentally touched on the villainy of the British minister, Pitt, and his instruments, in robbing Ireland of her hereditary and inalienable birthright—her independence, national standing and domestic parliament. But in this chapter we will enter more into detail.

At the session of the Irish Parliament of 1799, the in-

famous Robert Stewart, Castlereagh, commenced maturing his plans for the overthrow of his country. He and his minions raised the cry of treason against all who spoke against the Union. They attempted to confound all who advocated Irish independence with the French revolutionists. Those who could not be silenced by intimidation were reached by the silent but potent force of bribery and corruption, money and offices, titles and pensions and honors. White Hall had her offices open, from which flowed a secret stream of corruption funds. An army of pamphleteers, poetasters, lampooners and scribblers were in the pay of the Castle.

“It was easy for British statesmen to find in Ireland the suitable material for their usual system of corruption, because the Parliament did not at all represent the nation. Not only were four-fifths of the people expressly excluded, as Catholics, from all share in the representation, but of the three hundred members of the House of Commons, only seventy-two were returned by the people; one hundred and twenty-two sat for nominations, boroughs, and represented only their patrons. Fifty-two peers directly appointed these legislators, and could insure, by their influence, the election of about ten others. Fifty Commoners also nominated ninety-one members, and controlled the election of four others. With such a condition of the popular representation, the British ministry knew that they could soon render it manageable; and they waited till their own foreign troubles should be over, to re-establish the supremacy where nature placed it.”—Mitchel, p. 154.

Orangemen were played off against the liberals. Even

Lord Castlereagh "plied his pen in favor of the consolidation of the empire." Pitt and Castlereagh promised the Catholics that they surely would pass a bill for the emancipation of Catholics, at the first session of the Imperial Parliament.

On the 22d of January, 1799, the vice-royal speech congratulated the Irish parliament and the oligarchy on Nelson's victory: "The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavoring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your attention, and his majesty commands me to express his anxious hope that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the parliament in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the empire." The paragraph for the consolidation of the empire was lost in the Commons, by one vote, after it had passed the Lords. Mr. Ponsonby's pledge that the question of union should never again be proposed, was withdrawn, which gave new hope to the ministers. Mr. Plunket exclaimed in a masterly argument, "You may extinguish, but parliament you cannot extinguish. It is enthroned in the hearts of the people—it is enshrined in the sanctuary of the constitution—it is as immortal as the island that protects it. As well might the frantic suicide imagine that the act which destroys his miserable body should also extinguish his eternal soul. Again, therefore, I warn you: Do not dare to lay your hands on the constitu-

tion—it is above your power.” The castle party having been thus defeated, now commenced with a will deserving of a better cause, to increase the majority in parliament, in the coming session. To increase the patronage of the government, they created thirty-two new judgeships, collectorships, the Escheatship of Munster, thirteen new peerages, besides a lavish expenditure of money, was the instruments to carry the majority of the Unionists. Pitt introduced into the British parliament a number of resolutions as “the basis of a union.” We have already said that even Lord Castlereagh plied his pen for the Union—his “first essay was a motion to reform the Irish parliament, and his last to annihilate it.” The first announcement of a union was through a pamphlet written by the under secretary, Cooke, entitled “arguments for and against a union considered.” Several able pamphlets were written on both sides of the question. The bar of Ireland was at this time profound, able, and influential—their power pervaded all classes of society—their weight was felt in the government. A meeting of the bar was called on all important occasions to give their sanction to all public measures. This vital question to the weal or woe of Ireland was a fit theme for all classes; and in unison with the public feelings on such an important occasion, a meeting of the bar met December 19th, 1799, to discuss the question of union.

At this meeting, one Grady exclaimed: “The Irish Parliament is but the rump of an aristocracy.” This was well enough for the partisans of England—the ascendancy—the colony bred men who were always afraid to “bring down England on Ireland.” At this meeting Mr. Goold said, “there are 40,000 British troops in Ireland, and with

40,000 bayonets at my breast, the minister shall not plant another Sicily in the bosom of the Atlantic." I want not the assistance of divine inspiration to foretell, for I am enabled by the visible and unerring demonstration of nature, to assert that Ireland was destined to be a free and independent nation. Our patent to be a State, not a shire, comes direct from heaven. The Almighty has in majestic characters, signed the great charter of our independence. The great Creator of the world has given our beloved country the gigantic outlines of a kingdom. The God of nature never intended that Ireland should be a province, and by G——, she never shall!" Other lawyers followed in this noble and patriotic strain of eloquence and patriotism. On the division the vote stood:—

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|-----|
| Against the union, | - - - - - | 166 |
| For the union, | - - - - - | 32 |
| | | — |
| Majority against the union, | - - - - - | 134 |

Thus the Irish bar, in 1799, composed of the intelligence and wisdom of the nation, were opposed to national suicide. This showed that the intelligence and wisdom of Ireland was against the accursed union, which was accomplished by British gold, corruption and infamy. Had the question been submitted to a vote of the people it would have been defeated by thousands. Indeed, we may justly say there was never a legal and binding union between the two countries. That the Irish people at any time have a just right to sever the connection between great Britain and Ireland, if able! "That's what's the matter." The crafty ministry held the spurious argument that France wanted to separate Ireland from England. The ascendancy party

would rather bask in the sunshine of their darling monopoly, under the wing of English despotism and misrule, than to come on an equality with the multitude, on the great plain of civil and religious equality. They preferred their own exclusive privileges under a despotism, than to come on a level with the multitude under a republican form of government, which was the main object of the United Irishmen! This narrow minded and selfish policy, as well as stars, ribbons and garters and petty lucre, prompted the advocates for the union. The love of despotic sway over the people, stimulated Castlereagh and Lord Clare to become the venal instruments of Pitt in destroying the liberty of the country. Where now is their ill-gotten pelf—where now the honor! Oh! what dishonor! Their names have become associated with everything vile—as the emblem of all that is corrupt, wicked and treasonable to their country and liberty! Oh! what a vile fame is this! Oh! how infamous! The names of those traitors will be handed down to posterity in prose and in verse as the vilest of traitors known in the annals of nations! The orator will brand them with infamy—the finger of scorn will be pointed to them for all time to come. Yes, and the curse of posterity will follow them to their dishonorable graves. Their infamous career will mark a dark spot of foul disgrace in the annals of their country forever. Oh! what a shame is this. Let all Irishmen remember the traitors, Lord Clare and Castlereagh!

On the 15th of January, 1800, the Irish Parliament met for the last time. The Castle party had created fifty new boroughs for the purpose of carrying the union. Many military officers were returned, such as Needham and Pack-

anham, all the instruments of Lord Castlereagh. The Pitt party, through Castlereagh, sketched the general plan of union. He expatiated on the advantages which Ireland would derive, such as the church establishment and commercial advantages, and Catholic emancipation; that the proprietors of the rotten boroughs would be paid well for their patronage. They held out the lure that the union would enrich Ireland by the flow of British capital into Ireland to enrich the people; but time has proven this to be as false as all other promises made by this perfidious government.

On the debate of this memorable question, a conflict of severe invective and satire took place between Lord Castlereagh and Ponsonby. Castlereagh's speech was denounced by Mr. Ponsonby as "the ravings of an irritated youth."

O'Donnell of Mayo "disclaimed all further allegiance if a union were effected; he held it as a vicious revolution, and avowed he would take the field at the head of his regiment, to oppose it."—Barrington, p. 404. After a strong debate, the question stood: For the union, 105; and against it, 111. This was a victory for the friends of independence and a galling defeat for Castlereagh. The members who voted for the union were influenced, as may be seen from the following, thus:—

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-----|
| Those holding office, | - | - | - | - | - | 69 |
| Those rewarded for their votes, | - | - | - | - | - | 14 |
| Seduced in the house openly, | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Rewarded by titles, | - | - | - | - | - | 18 |
| <hr/> | | | | | | |
| Supposed to be influenced, | - | - | - | - | - | 102 |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|
| The House composed of | - | - | - | - | - | - | 300 |
| Voted that night, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 216 |
| <hr/> | | | | | | | |
| Absent, | - | - | - | - | - | - | 84 |

After this signal defeat, Mr. Ponsonby moved, "That this house will ever maintain the undoubted birthright of Irishmen, by preserving an independent parliament of lords and commons resident in this kingdom, as stated and approved by his Majesty and the British parliament, in 1782." This motion would have been carried but for one Charles Fortescue, who declared he would not bind himself forever. Mr. Ponsonby then withdrew his motion. This gave fresh courage to the castle party, to make a greater effort in 1800.

Pitt sent a dispatch to Cornwallis that the question of union should not be pressed unless the government had a majority of fifty. The corrupt and pusillanimous Lord Castlereagh now prepared for an exertion which would overpower the opposition, both with money and audacity. He had not been endowed with courage, but he was armed with subtle cunning. He invited to dinner "tried men" of "fighting families." This was done to enlist men to "fight down the opposition." They promised Castlereagh to "eat, drink, speak, and fight for him."

This infamous and corrupt politician was held in such hatred by the people of Dublin, that they burned him in effigy, in 1800. The wily traitor was able, during the prorogation of parliament, to secure forty-three members.

Sir Jonah Barrington thus describes the debate at the session of 1800; thus:

"Every mind was at its stretch, every talent was in its vigor: it was a momentous trial; and never was so general

and so deep a sensation felt in any country. Numerous British noblemen and commons were present at that and the succeeding debates, and they expressed opinions of Irish eloquence which they had never before conceived, nor ever after had an opportunity of appreciating. Every man, on that night, seemed to be inspired by the subject. Speeches more replete with talent and energy, on both sides, never were heard in the Irish senate; it was a vital subject. The sublime, the eloquent, the figurative orator, the plain, the connected, the metaphysical reasoner, the classical, the learned, and the solemn declaimer, in a succession of speeches so full of energy and enthusiasm, so interesting in their nature, so important in their consequences, created a variety of sensations even in the bosom of a stranger, and could scarcely fail of exciting some sympathy with a nation that was doomed to close for ever that school of eloquence which had so long given character and celebrity to Irish talent."

On the 25th of March, the castle party took a vote which showed that they had gained, by bribery, a majority of forty-seven. The House then adjourned for six weeks. On June 7th the bill was put on its final passage. Jonah Barrington describes the final scene thus:

"The galleries were full, but the change was lamentable; they were no longer crowded with those who had been accustomed to witness the eloquence and to animate the debates of that assembly. A monotonous and melancholy murmur ran through the benches, scarcely a word was exchanged amongst the members, nobody seemed at ease, no cheerfulness was apparent, and the ordinary business, for a short time, proceeded in the usual manner.

“At length the expected moment arrived, the order of the day for the third reading of the bill, for a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, was moved by Lord Castlereagh. Unvaried, tame, cold-blooded, the words seemed frozen as they issued from his lips; and, as if a simple citizen of the world, he seemed to have no sensation on the subject.

“At that moment he had no country, no God but his ambition. He made his motion and resumed his seat, with the utmost composure and indifference.

“Confused murmurs again ran through the House. It was visibly affected; every character in a moment seemed involuntarily rushing to its index; some pale, some flushed, some agitated; there were few countenances to which the heart did not dispatch some messenger. Several members withdrew before the question could be repeated, and an awful, momentary silence succeeded their departure. The speaker rose slowly from that chair which had been the proud source of his honors and of his high character; for a moment he resumed his seat, but the strength of his mind sustained him in his duty, though his struggle was apparent. With that dignity which never failed to signalize his official actions, he held up the bill for a moment in silence; he looked steadily around him on the last agony of the expiring parliament. He at length repeated, in an emphatic tone, ‘As many as are of the opinion that THIS BILL do pass, say aye.’ The affirmative was languid, but indisputable; another momentary pause ensued, again his lips seemed to decline their office. At length, with an eye averted from the object which he hated, he proclaimed, with a subdued voice, ‘The ayes have it.’ The fatal sen-

tence was now pronounced; for an instant he stood statue-like; then indignantly, and with disgust, flung the bill upon the table, and sunk into his chair with an exhausted spirit. An independent country was thus degraded into a province; Ireland, as a nation, was extinguished.”—Barrington, 459, 460.

“Notwithstanding that Castlereagh had spent millions to buy votes, besides a lavish distribution of titles—peerages, judgeships, collectorships and pensions—he could get but 158 out of 300 members, in 1800. For the eternal honor of the anti-unionists, be it said, that there were 115 members that all the corruption of the “British Government could not seduce.”—Barrington, p. 352.

On August of the anniversary of the House of Brunswick, the imbecile George III. gave his royal assent to the act which declared that henceforth the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was one and inseparable! The churches of England and Ireland were united. The Irish debt, which was but £4,000,000 in 1797, in 1801 was £17,000,000. The Vice Royalty, the Four Courts and the Privy Council were all that was left of the Irish nation! On January 1, 1801, a new flag was raised over the tower of London and Edinburg Castle, and the green flag was lowered from Dublin Castle to give place to that flaunting lie, the union jack! And by proclamation the royal title became henceforth, *Dei Gratia, Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor*.

Only about six or seven voted for this accursed union from conviction. Some of the proprietors of the rotten boroughs received £15,000 for a single seat; and Lord Ely and Lord Shannon received £45,000 for the loss of their great patronage! As we have already said, the great bulk

of the Irish people, who had no representation in this body, looked on this vile barter of their rights by a "rump of an aristocracy," as a gigantic fraud. They were never satisfied—never can they be satisfied until they have a free Republic. The union proved a stupendous curse to Ireland—the curse of taxation and extermination. Even Ireland was taxed for the knife with which Castlereagh cut his throat. Samuel Johnson said to an Irishman, "Do not unite with us, sir, it would be the union of a shark with his prey; we would unite with you only to destroy you."

England promised that she would henceforth become the guardian of Ireland. Ah, her protector! Yes, the same protection which the wolf shows to the lamb! All and every promise which she made on this occasion, she most shamefully violated. How can Ireland put trust in England, or in the English parliament. Never, never. We want our freedom. We want a free government, a free people, and a free country. Then and only until then can Ireland be satisfied. Let us, Irishmen, never despair of the freedom of our fatherland. No, never can Ireland be united to England. When we get an opportunity we will sever this fatal union for ever, and hoist the green flag of Erin over the castle of Dublin! The days of sending petitions to the parliament of England are gone—that "parliament which knows how to refuse though it has no reason to give for that refusal."

The following vivid picture of Ireland, caused by the loss of the union, is from a speech of the immortal O'Connell:

"He," (O'Connell) "was unable to do justice to his feelings on the great national subject on which they had met. He felt too much of personal anxiety to allow him to ar-

range in anything like order the many topics which rushed upon his mind, now, that after ten years of silence and torpor, Irishmen began again to recollect their enslaved country. It was a melancholy period, those ten years—a period in which Ireland saw her artificers starved, her tradesmen begging, her merchants become bankrupts, her gentry banished, and her nobility degraded. Within that period domestic turbulence broke from day to day into open violence and murder, religious dissensions were aggravated and embittered, credit and commerce were annihilated, taxation augmented in amount and in vexation. Besides the ‘hangings-off’ of the ordinary assizes, we had been disgraced by the necessity that existed for holding two special commissions of death, and had been degraded by our rebellion; and, to crown all, we were insulted by being told of our growing prosperity! This was not the painting of imagination—it borrowed nothing from fancy—it was, alas, the plain representation of the facts that had occurred—the picture, in sober colors, of the real state of his ill-fated country. There is not a man present but must be convinced that he did not exaggerate a single fact; there was not a man present but must know that more misery existed than he had described. Such being the history of the first ten years of the union, it would not be difficult to convince any unprejudiced man, that all those calamities had sprung from that measure. Ireland was favored by Providence with a fertile soil, and excellent situation for commerce, intersected by navigable rivers, blessed with a fruitful soil, and with a vigorous, hardy, generous, and brave population; how did it happen, then, that the noble qualities of the Irish people were perverted? That the

order of Providence was disturbed, and its blessings worse than neglected. The fatal cause was obvious—it was the union. That these deplorable effects would follow from that accursed measure, was prophesied. Before the Act of Union passed, it had been already proved that the trade of the country and its credit must fail, as capital was drawn from it; that turbulence and violence would increase, when the gentry were removed to residence in another country; that the taxes should increase in the same proportion as the people became unable to pay them. But neither the argument nor our prophetic fears have ended with our present evils. It has also been demonstrated, that as long as the union continues, so long must our misfortunes accumulate. The nature of that measure, and the experience of facts which we have now had, leave no doubt of the truth of what has been asserted respecting the future. But if there be any still incredulous, he can only be of those who submit their reason to authority. To such persons, the authority of Mr. John Foster, Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland, would probably be conclusive, and Foster has assured us, that final ruin to our country must be the consequence of the union. I will not dwell, Mr. Sheriff, on the miseries of my country; I am disgusted with the wretchedness the union has produced; and I do not dare to trust myself with the contemplation of the accumulation of sorrow that must overwhelm the land, if the union be not repealed! I beg to call the attention of the meeting to another part of the subject. The union, sir, was a violation of our national and inherent rights—a flagrant injustice.

“The representatives whom we had elected for a short

period of eight years, had no authority to dispose of their country forever. It cannot be pretended that any direct or express authority to that effect was given to them; and the nature of the delegation excludes all idea of their having any such by implication! They were the servants of the nation, empowered to consult for its good; not its masters, to make traffic and dispose of it at their fantasy, or for their profit. I deny that the nation itself had a right to barter its independence or to commit political suicide; but when our servants destroyed our existence as a nation, they added to the baseness of assassination all the guilt of high treason. The reasoning upon which those opinions are founded, is sufficiently obvious. They require no sanction from the authority of any name; neither do I pretend to give them any weight, by declaring them to be conscientiously my own; but if you want authority to induce the conviction that the union had injustice for its principles, and a crime for its basis, I appeal to that of his Majesty's present Attorney General, Mr. Saurin, who in his place in the Irish Parliament, pledged his character as a lawyer and a statesman, that the union must be a violation of any moral principle, and that it was a mere question of prudence whether it should not be resisted by force. I also appeal to the opinions of the late Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, Mr. George Ponsonby—of the present Solicitor General, Mr. Bushe—and of that splendid lawyer, Mr. Plunket. The union was therefore a manifest injustice—and it continues to be unjust at this day. It was a crime and must be still criminal, unless it shall be ludicrously pretended that crime, like wine, improves by old age, and that time mollifies injustice into innocence. You may

smile at the supposition, but in sober sadness you must be convinced that we daily suffer injustice—that every succeeding day adds one other to the catalogue of British vice, and if the union continues, it will only make crime hereditary, and injustice perpetual.

“We have been robbed, my countrymen, most foully robbed of our birthright, of our independence. May it not be permitted to us, mournfully to ask how this consummation of evil was perfected? for it was not in any disastrous battle that our liberties were struck down—no foreign invader had despoiled the land; we have not forfeited our country by any crimes—neither did we lose it in any domestic insurrection. No, the rebellion was completely put down before the union was accomplished: the Irish militia and the Irish yeomanry had put it down. How, then, have we become enslaved? Alas! England, that ought to have been to us as a sister and a friend—England, whom we had loved, and fought, and bled for—England, whom we had protected, and whom we do protect—England, at a period when out of 100,000 seamen in her service 70,000 were Irish—England stole upon us, like a thief in the night, and robbed us of the precious gem of our liberty; she stole from us ‘that which in nought enriched her, but made us poor indeed.’ Reflect, then, my friends, on the means employed to accomplish this disastrous measure. I do not speak of the meaner instruments of bribery and corruption—we all know that every thing was put to sale—nothing profane or sacred was omitted in the union mart—officers in the revenue, commands in the army and navy, the sacred ermine of justice, and the holy altars of God, were all profaned and polluted by the rewards of union services. By

a vote in favor of the union, ignorance, incapacity, and profligacy obtained certain promotion; and our ill-fated but beloved country was degraded to her utmost limits, before she was transfixed in slavery. But I do not intend to detain you in contemplation of those vulgar means of parliamentary success—they are within the daily routine of official *management*; neither will I direct your attention to the frightful recollection of that avowed fact which is now part of history, that the *rebellion* itself was fomented and encouraged in order to facilitate the Union. Even the rebellion was an accidental and secondary cause—the real cause of the union lay deeper, but is quite obvious.

“It is to be found at once in the *religious dissensions* which the enemies of Ireland have created, and continued, and seek to perpetrate amongst ourselves, by telling us of, and separating us into wretched sections and miserable subdivisions; they separated the Protestant from the Catholic, and the Presbyterian from both; they revived every antiquated cause of domestic animosity, and they invented new pretexts of rancor; but above all, my countrymen, they belied and calumniated us to each other—they falsely declared that we hated each other, and continued to repeat the assertion, until we came to believe it; they succeeded in producing all the madness of party and religious distinctions, and while we were lost in the stupor of insanity, they plundered us of our country, and left us to recover at our leisure from the horrid delusions into which we had been so artfully conducted.

“Such, then, were the means by which the union was effected. It has stripped us of commerce and wealth; it has degraded us, and deprived us not only of our station as

a nation, but even of the name of our country; we are governed by foreigners—foreigners make our laws, for were the one hundred members who nominally represent Ireland in what is called the imperial parliament, were they really our representatives, what influence could they, although unbought and unanimous, have over the five hundred and fifty-eight English and Scotch members? But what is the fact? Why, that out of the one hundred, such as they are, that set for this country, more than one-fifth know nothing of us, and are unknown to us.”—O’Connell’s Speeches, vol. 1, pp. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

We will give O’Connell’s description of the Pitt administration, and of the means he employed to carry the union by means of his tools and minions, and the traitors, Castle-reagh, and Lord Clare—by perjury and corruption unparalleled in ancient or modern history:—

“Thus, the principle of the Pitt administration was—*to deprive the people of all share in the government, and to vest all power and authority in the crown.* In short, Pitt’s views amounted to unqualified despotism. This great object he steadily pursued through his ill-starred career. It is true he encouraged commerce, but it was for the purposes of taxation, and he used taxation for the purposes of corruption; he assisted the merchants as long as he could, to grow rich and they lauded him: he bought the people with their own money, and they praised him. Each succeeding day produced some new inroad on the Constitution; and the alarm which he excited by reason of the bloody workings of the French revolution, enabled him to rule the land with uncontrolled sway. He had bequeathed to his successors the accumulated powers of the Crown—a power which must

be great, if it can sustain the nonentities of the present administration. "The principle of Pitt's administration was despotism—the principle of Perceval's administration was peculating bigotry—bigoted peculation! In the name of the Lord he plundered the people. Pious and enlightened statesman! He would take their money only for the good of their souls.

"The Minister, Lord Castlereagh, is reported to have said in the House of Commons, that in the years 1797 and 1798, there was no torture in Ireland, to the knowledge of Government! Is it really possible that such an assertion was used? You hear it with astonishment. All Ireland must shudder, that any man could be found thus to assert. Good God! Of what materials must that man be made who could say so? I restrain my indignation; I withhold all expressions of surprise. The simple statement that such an assertion was used, exceeds, in reply, the strongest language of reprobation. But there is no man so stupid as not to recognize the principle which I have so justly attributed to this administration.

"What! no torture! Great God! No torture! Within the walls of your city was there no torture? Could not Colonel Vereker have informed Lord Castlereagh, that the lash resounded in the streets even of Limerick, and that the human groan assailed the wearied ear of humanity? Yet I am ready to give the gallant Colonel any credit he deserves; and, therefore, I recall to your grateful recollection the day when he risked his life to punish one of the instruments of torture. Colonel Vereker can tell whether it be true, that in the streets of your city, the servant of his relative, Mrs. Rosslewen, was not tortured—whether he

was not tortured, first for the crime of having expressed a single sentiment of compassion, and next because Colonel Vereker interfered for him. But there is an additional fact, which is not so generally known, and which, perhaps, Colonel Vereker himself does not know, and which I have learned from a highly respectable clergyman, that this said victim of the system of torture, which Lord Castlereagh denied, was, at the time he was scourged, in an infirm state of health—that the flogging inflicted on him deprived him of all understanding, and that within a few months he died insane, and without having recovered a shadow of reason.

“But why, out of the myriads of victims, do I select a solitary instance? Because he was a native of your city, and his only offense an expression of compassion. I might tell you, did you not already know it, that in Dublin there were, for weeks, three permanent triangles, constantly supplied with the victims of a promiscuous choice made by the army, the yeomanry, the police constables, the Orange lodges; that the shrieks of the tortured must have literally resounded in the state apartments of the castle; and that along by the gate of the castle yard, a human being, naked, tarred, feathered, with one ear cut off, and the blood streaming from his lacerated back, has been hunted by a troop of barbarians!”—O’Connell’s Speeches, vol. 1, pp. 94, 95, 96.

CHAPTER XI.

At the time of the union Ireland owed but £20,000,000 funded debt, and England £840,000,000. Ireland would have paid off her public debt but for the accursed union—now her houses, lands, property, and industry must pay the debts of the old tyrant, England!

Ireland was entitled by the act of the union, to 176 members out of the 658 members in the British Parliament, but she got but one hundred. Scotland increased her representation by one in five, Wales by one in six, and Ireland by one in ten! This accursed union was carried not only by direct bribery and villainy, but Scotchmen and Englishmen were returned from the rotten boroughs by the corruption of Castlereagh, who would barter a seat in heaven for emolument, who voted for the union. This fatal union encouraged the odious system of absentees; nine-tenths of the soil of Ireland is owned by absentees. Pitt and Castlereagh played off Catholic against Protestant, and fomented domestic dissension. They sold peerages as a staple of traffic—commands in the army and navy, judgeships, archbishops, and bishops, revenue collectorships and officers of all grades, pensions and titles. They trafficked the sanctuary of law and bribed the ministers of religion to obtain votes in parliament to accomplish the union. Pitt had given a written promise to the Catholics that if they would unite Ireland with England—consolidate the inhabitants of both islands as one people and one nation, they would no longer be treated as aliens, enemies and strangers, but that they would enjoy the same privileges, laws and liberties

with England and Scotland—the Catholics would no longer be persecuted for their religion. Did England keep her plighted faith? Oh, no. That consummate fool, George III., refused Pitt, the prime minister, his sanction to grant Catholic emancipation. Three times the British House of Commons voted for Catholic emancipation, which was each time defeated by Ireland's perpetual enemies in the British House of Lords. At last a change came over the spirit of the Irish. They spurned with holy indignation the patronage of the British government—placemen and Castle-hacks were hurled from power to make room for the sons of freedom and liberty; and after years of agitation they wrung from King George, Wellington, and Peel, Catholic emancipation. Ireland gained nothing but lost everything by the accursed union.

ORIGINAL BLACK LIST,

Containing the names of the men bribed by Pitt to pack the Irish Parliament to accomplish the Union. Let their names be handed down to posterity, as vile traitors to their country and their God:

OBSERVATIONS.

1. R. Aldridge: an English clerk in the Secretary's Office; no connection with Ireland.
2. Henry Alexander: chairman of ways and means; cousin of Lord Caledon; his brother made a Bishop; himself Colonial Secretary at the Cape of Good Hope.
3. Richard Archdall: commissioner of the Board of Works.
4. William Bailey: commissioner of the Board of Works.
5. Rt. Hon. J. Beresford; First Commissioner of Revenue; brother-in-law to Lord Clare.

6. J. Beresford Jr.: then Purse-bearer to Lord Clare, afterwards a parson, and now Lord Decies.
7. Marcus Beresford: a Colonel in the army; son to the Bishop, Lord Clare's nephew.
8. J. Bingham: created a peer; got £8000 for two seats, and £15,000 compensation for Tuam. This gentleman first offered himself for sale to the Anti-Unionists; Lord Clanmorris.
9. Joseph H. Blake: created a peer, Lord Wallscourt, &c.
10. Sir. J. G. Blackwood: created a Peer—Lord Dufferin.
11. Sir John Blaquiere: numerous offices and pensions, and created a Peer—Lord De Blaquiere.
12. Anthony Botet: appointed Commissioner of the Barrack Board, £508 a year.
13. Colonel Burton: brother to Lord Conyngham; a Colonel in the army.
14. Sir Richard Butler: purchased and changed sides: voted against the Union in 1799, and for it in 1800. Cash.
15. Lord Boyle: son to Lord Shannon; they got an *immense* sum of money for their seats and boroughs; at £15,000 each borough.
16. Rt. Hon. D. Brown: brother to Lord Sligo.
17. Stewart Bruce: gentleman usher at Dublin Castle; now a baronet.
18. George Burdet: Commissioner of a public board, £500 per annum.
19. George Bunbury: ditto.
20. Arthur Brown: changed sides and principles, and was appointed sergeant; in 1799 opposed the union, and supported it in 1800; he was senior Fellow of Dublin University; lost his seat the ensuing election, and died.

21. — Bagwell, Sen.: changed twice; got half the patronage of Tipperary; his son a Dean, &c. &c.
22. William Bagwell: his brother.
23. Lord Castlereagh: the Irish Minister.
24. George Cavendish: Secretary to the Treasury during pleasure; son to Sir Henry.
25. Sir H. Cavendish: Receiver General during pleasure; deeply indebted to the crown.
26. Sir R. Chinnery: placed in office after the union.
27. James Cane: renegaded, and got a pension.
28. Thomas Casey: a Commissioner of Bankrupts under Lord Clare; made a City Magistrate.
29. Colonel C. Cope: renegaded; got a regiment, and the patronage of his county.
30. General Cradock: returned by government; much military rank; now Lord Howden.
31. James Crosby: a regiment and the patronage of Kerry jointly; seconded the address.
32. Edward Cooke: Under Secretary at the Castle.
33. Charles H. Coote: obtained a regiment (which was taken from Colonel Wharburton), patronage of Queen's County, and a peerage (Lord Castlecoote), and £7,500 in cash for his interest at the Borough of Maryborough, in which, in fact, it was proved before the commissioners that the author of this work, Mr. Barrington, had more interest than his Lordship.
34. Rt. Hon. J. Corry: appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, on dismissal of Sir John Parnell.
35. Sir J. Cotter: privately bought over by cash.
36. Richard Cotter.
37. Hon. H. Creighton: renegade, (see red list.)

38. Hon. J. Creighton: privately purchased.
39. W. A. Crosbie: Comptroller to the Lord Lieutenant's Household.
40. James Cuffe: natural son to Mr. Cuffe, of the Board of Works, his father created Lord Tyrawly.
41. General Dunne: returned from Maryborough by the united influence of Lord Castlecoote and government, to keep out Mr. Barington: gained the election by only *one*.
42. William Elliot: Secretary at the Castle.
43. General Eustace: a regiment.
44. Lord C. Fitzgerald: Duke of Leinster's brother, a pension and a peerage; a sea officer of no repute.
45. Rt. Hon. W. Fitzgerald.
46. Sir C. Fortescue: renegaded, (see red list); officer, King at Arms.
47. A Fergusson: got a place at the Barrack Board; £500 a year and a Baronetcy.
48. Luke Fox: appointed Judge of Common Pleas; nephew by marriage to Lord Ely.
49. William Fortescue: got a secret pension out of a fund (£3,000 a year) entrusted by Parliament to the Irish government, solely to reward Mr. Reynolds, Cope, &c., &c., and those who informed against rebels.
50. J. Galbraith: Lord Abercorn's Attorney; got a Baronetage.
51. Henry D. Grady: First Counsel to the Commissioners.
52. Richard Hare: put two members into Parliament, and was created Lord Ennismore for their votes.
53. William Hare: his son.
54. Peter Holmes: a Commissioner of Stamps.

55. Col. B. Henneker: a regiment, and paid £3,500 for his seat by the commissioners of compensation.
56. George Hatton: appointed Commissioner of Stamps.
57. Hon. J. Hutchison: a General—Lord Hutchison.
58. Hugh Howard: Lord Wicklow's brother, made Postmaster General.
59. Wm. Handcock, Athlone: an extraordinary instance; he made and sang songs *against* the union in 1799, at a public dinner of the opposition, and made and sang songs for it in 1800—he got a Peerage.
60. John Hobson: appointed store-keeper at the Castle ordnance.
61. Col. G. Jackson: a regiment.
62. Denham Jephson: Master of Horse to the Lord Lieutenant.
63. Hon. G. Jocelyn: promotion in the army, and his brother consecrated Bishop of Lismore.
64. William Jones.
65. Theophilus Jones: Collector of Dublin.
66. Major Gen. Jackson: a regiment.
67. William Johnson: returned to Parliament by Lord Castlereagh, as he himself declared, "to put an end to it;" appointed a judge since.
68. Robert Johnson: seceded from his partner, Lord Downshire, and was appointed a judge.
69. John Keane: a renegade; got a pension; see red list.
70. James Kearny; returned by Lord Clifton, being his attorney; got an office.
71. Henry Kemmis: son to the crown solicitor.
72. William Knot: appointed a commissioner of appeals £800 a year.

73. Andrew Knox.
74. Colonel Keating.
75. Rt. Hon. Sir H. Langrishe: a Commissioner of Stamps, paid £15,000 for his patronage at Knocktopher.
76. T. Lingray, Sen.: Commissioner of Stamps, paid £1,500 for his patronage.
77. T. Lindsay, Jr.: usher at the Castle, paid £1,500 for his patronage.
78. J. Longfield: created a peer; Lord Longueville.
79. Capt. J. Longfield: appointed to the office of ship entries of Dublin, taken from Sir Jonah Barrington.
80. Lord Loftus: son to Lord Ely, Post Master General; got £30,000 for their boroughs, and created an English Marquis.
81. General Lake: an Englishman, (no connection with Ireland,) returned by Lord Castlereagh, solely to vote for the union.
82. Rt. Hon. David Latouche.
83. General Loftus: a General; got a regiment; cousin to Lord Ely.
84. Francis M. Namara: cash, and a private pension, paid by Lord Castlereagh.
85. Ross Mahon: several appointments and places by government.
86. Richard Martin: Commissioner of Stamps.
87. Right Hon. Monk Mason: a Commissioner of Revenue.
88. H. D. Massy: received £4,000 cash.
89. Thomas Mahon.
90. A. E. M'Naghten: appointed a Lord of the Treasury, &c.
91. Stephen Moore: a postmaster at will.
92. N. M. Moore.

93. Right Hon. Lodge Morris: created a peer.
94. Sir R. Musgrave: appointed Receiver of the Customs, £1,200 a year.
95. James McClelland: a barrister; appointed Solicitor General, and then a Baron of the Exchequer.
96. Col. C. McDonnell: commissioner of imprest accounts, £500 per annum.
97. Richard Magennis: commissioner of imprest accounts, £500 per annum.
98. Thomas Nesbit: a pensioner at will.
99. Sir W. G. Newcomen, baronet: bought (see memoir ante) and a peerage for his wife.
100. Richard Neville: renegaded; reinstated as teller of the Exchequer.
101. William Odell: a regiment and Lord of the Treasury.
102. Charles Osborne, a barrister: appointed Judge of the King's Bench.
103. C. M. Ormsby: appointed first council commissioner.
104. Admiral Pakenham: master of the ordnance.
105. Col. Pakenham: a regiment; killed at New Orleans.
106. H. S. Prittie: a peerage—Lord Dunalley.
107. R. Pennefather.
108. T. Prendergast: an officer in the court of chancery, £500 a year; his brother crown solicitor.
109. Sir Richard Quinn: a peerage.
110. Sir Boyle Roche: gentleman usher at the castle.
111. R. Rutledge.
112. Hon. C. Rowley: renegaded, and appointed to office by Lord Castlereagh.
113. Hon. H. Skeffington: clerk of the paper office of the castle, and £7,500 for his patronage.

114. William Smith, a barrister: appointed a Baron of Exchequer.
115. H. M. Sandford: created a peer; Lord Mount Sandford.
116. Edmond Stanley: appointed commissioner of accounts.
117. John Staples.
118. John Stewart: appointed Attorney General and created a baronet.
119. John Stratton.
120. Hon. B. Stratford: renegaded to get £7,500, his half of the compensation for Baltinglass.
121. Hon. J. Stratford: paymaster of foreign forces, £1,300 a year, and £7,500 for Baltinglass.
122. Richard Sharkey: an obscure barrister; appointed a county judge.
123. Thomas Stannus, renegaded.
124. J. Savage.
125. Rt. Hon. J. Toler, Attorney General: his wife, an old woman, created a peeress, himself made chief justice, and a peer.
126. Frederick Trench: appointed a commissioner of the Board of Works.
127. Hon. R. Trench, a barrister: created a peer, and made an ambassador. See red list.
128. Charles Trench, his brother: appointed commissioner of inland navigation—a new office created by Lord Cornwallis, for rewards.
129. Richard Talbot.
130. P. Tottenham: compensation for patronage: cousin and politically connected with Lord Ely.
131. Chas. Tottenham: in office.

132. Lord Tyrone: 140 offices in the gift of his family; proposed the union in Parliament by a speech written in the crown of his hat.
133. ——— Townsend: commissioner.
134. Robert Tighe: commissioner of barracks.
135. Robert Uniack: a commissioner, connected with Lord Clare.
136. James Verner: called the Prince of Orange.
137. J. O. Vandeleur: commissioner of the revenue: his brother a judge.
138. Colonel Wemyse: collector of Kilkenny.
139. Henry Westenraw: father of Lord Rossmore, who is the very reverse of his father's politics.—Barrington, pp. 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472.

CHAPTER XII.

AGITATION FOR CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

The king hostile to Catholics—Pitt's resignation—Pitt violates his promises to the Catholics—Lord Clare's disgrace—Castlereagh cuts his throat—Habeas corpus suspended—An insurrection act—Lord Norbury—The veto—the king refuses to make Catholics eligible to military offices—Catholic committee—Grattan's proposed emancipation bill—Suppression of the Catholic board—Napoleon's exile—O'Connell's opposition to petitions—Reformed parliament—O'Connell arrested—Friends of Ireland in the United States—Wellington's administration—Test oath—O'Connell elected for Clare.

We have said that Pitt and Castlereagh promised the Catholics universal emancipation, as one of the first fruits of the union. Some historians tell us that Pitt was in fa-

vor of redeeming his sacred promise, but was prevented by the king, whose prejudice was so intense against Catholics that he thought that his coronation oath bound him to resist the just claims of the Catholics. Lord Eldon was of the same opinion. The old king had some method in his madness; on the Catholic question his infirmity was moral dementia; he was a poor deluded monomaniac. The old king, in a fit of rage exclaimed, after the meeting of the imperial parliament, in January, 1801; "what's this? what's this? this, that the young Lord (Castlereagh) has brought over from Ireland to throw at my head? The most jacobinical thing I ever heard of! Any man that proposes such a thing is my personal enemy." Pitt could not change the old king's mind, and with some faint show of dignity, resigned. But he sacrificed his honor as a man, a gentleman and a statesman, by his assuring the king, three weeks after he had resigned, that he would never again urge the claims of the Catholics on his Majesty's consideration. Here we have a man, whom the English people, and many of the Americans, revere and respect as a great man and statesman, violating his word. What British consistency this! What a British statesman! But this is the old story over again—the Punic faith of perfidious and faithless Albion! Yet we have Pitt clubs, and Pitt statues to the memory of a man who most shamefully violated his word and honor in the most shameful manner. This base act of perfidy will never be forgotten by the Irish—no, never, never! Pitt returned to office in 1804, and died in 1806, but never made an effort to redeem his violated word and honor!

The people of Ireland at last learned, in the bitter

school of tribulation, the loss of their parliament. Even the mean arch-traitor, Lord Clare, was stung to the core by the contemptuous manner he was treated by the English statesmen. They had now obtained their ends, and despised the *mud-sil* over which they had traveled. They spurned with disdain, the ladder upon which they climbed to the pinnacle of the empire. They spurned with high disdain this vile minion, after they had used him to accomplish their darling scheme—the union of the three kingdoms. As Lord Clare was a traitor to his own countrymen and country, English statesmen could not trust him with the empire. This haughty, arrogant, and overbearing traitor, who was a dictator in his own country, was told by English statesmen that “the union had not transferred his dictatorial powers to the Imperial Parliament.” He was neglected even by Pitt, which preyed so much on his proud spirit, that he retired to Ireland, and died broken hearted. He was borne to the grave amidst the insults of the people, and his name is handed down by historians as the Benedict Arnold of Ireland! Lord Castlereagh, though he prospered for a while, at last ended his life by committing suicide. May this be the fate and death of tyrants. His name is associated with every thing vile, corrupt and detestable. His memory will be handed down to posterity, only to be despised!

The fate of those two ought to be a warning to young men, to shun the fatal road that leads to national dishonor; not to barter away the liberty of the people for the mere bauble of self-interest! What a sad spectacle are all traitors! They should be treated as something whose very name is contamination—whose memory is suggestive of ev-

everything low, sordid, venal, and corrupt—despised while living, and detested in their graves! Thus will the traitors Lord Clare and Castlereagh be remembered! In the meantime the *habeas corpus* act was suspended and the insurrection act was in force. England was at the same time menaced by the dread of a French invasion. The great Napoleon became the wonder of the world, and the terror of all Europe as well as of England. The oligarchy became cruel and blood-thirsty. The hard-hearted and despotic Lord Norbury has made for himself an uninvincible fame for his cruelty, as a judge, which will never be forgotten. The Imperial Parliament is famous for the war speeches of these times, and of their denunciations of the great Napoleon, who had placed upon his head the iron crown of the Cæsars. In 1805, Grattan, at the solicitation of Fox, was returned to Parliament from Malton, in Yorkshire. Grattan, though an *anti-Jacobin*, yet was a friend to the Catholics. This year, the Catholic committee, who had not met for several years, drew up a petition showing their many grievances, which was entrusted to Lord Fingall, who proceeded to London and presented it to Mr. Pitt, who refused to take charge of it, contrary to his former promises. He then gave the petition to Fox and Lord Grenville, who brought it before the House of Lords. Mr. Grattan supported it in the House of Commons, but it was lost by a vote of 336 to 124.

It was suggested by the oligarchy and their friends, that the crown should have "*the veto*," in the appointment of Bishops, so as to put the Irish clergy under the control of the English government.

"By the word veto, I mean all such measures as would

give the crown, or the ministers of the crown, a control over the appointments in the Catholic church in Ireland. Those measures have had different names. Sometimes they have been called the royal negative, sometimes conditions, sometimes securities. But the object of them all was in one mode or the other to control the nomination to the Catholic sees in Ireland."—O'Connell's Speeches, vol. 2, page 107.

This led to various discussions, which lasted until 1810. It was opposed by the immortal O'Connell and his friends. O'Connell urged on the opposition with all the vigor of a young and ardent patriot.

In 1807, George III. refused to sign a bill making Catholics eligible to military and naval offices. He required a pledge from Lord Grenville that they should not bring forward the same measures again, "nor ever to propose anything connected with the Catholic question." The Catholic question now had become the leading and absorbing question of the time.

In 1809, the Catholic committee was reorganized, and to avoid "the convention act," was called the general committee. They appointed a treasurer and secretary.

In 1811, this body was dissolved, and Lord Fingall arrested by the Dublin authorities. The committee then reappeared under the name of "the Catholic Board."

Under the lead of O'Connell and his friends, the people met in "aggregate meetings" to discuss the great question of emancipation. Now that the government had dissolved one organization, the people with O'Connell formed another.

In 1811 and 1812 those great "agitators" denounced the Duke of Richmond, and returned thanks to Lord Grenville

for refusing to give the old king the anti-Catholic pledge. From this time O'Connell became the great leader of the "agitators,"—the great "man of the people."

In 1812, Mr. Peel was appointed Irish Secretary, a follower of the Eldon school. A rank tory. His name is connected with the introduction of the Irish constabulary, called in derision "*Peelers*"—a name hateful to the people of Ireland—a name associated with informer, spy and traitor!

In 1813, Mr. Grattan proposed an emancipation bill. This bill was met with the suggestion to revive the "*veto*" in the appointment of Catholic bishops, and was abandoned. Among the Catholics were vetoists and anti-vetoists. Sir Richard Lalor Shiel and Dr. Milner were in favor of the veto; while O'Connell denounced it.

In 1815 the English government thought to influence Pope Pius VII. in favor of the veto party. On this occasion O'Connell sent his famous address to the Pope, giving a true picture of the Catholic question in Ireland. We make the following extract:

"No spiritual grounds are alleged for the proposed alteration in our ecclesiastical system; it is not pretended that it would advance the interests of religion, or improve the morality of the Catholic people of Ireland; on the contrary, it is proposed in opposition to the well known and declared opinions of our spiritual guides, and is offered as an exchange or barter for some temporal aid or concession; it therefore becomes our duty as Catholics and as subjects, to state, in most explicit terms, our sentiments upon it.

"It is considered right to assure your Holiness, in the first instance, that although the penal laws, which were

framed for the oppression of the Catholics of Ireland, have been considerably relaxed during the reign of our present most gracious sovereign, nevertheless the hostility to our holy religion continues to exist in full force; and every artifice is practiced, and every inducement held out, to seduce the Irish Catholic from the practice and profession of his religion. Rewards are given to every Catholic clergyman who apostatizes from his faith; public schools and hospitals are maintained at great expense, in which hostility to the creed and character of Roman Catholics constitutes the first principle of instruction; commissioners are appointed to prevent Catholic institutions receiving any benefit from the donations of pious persons; societies are established, under the favor of our rulers, for proselyting the Catholic poor; and bribes offered and given to Catholic parents, for the purchase of their children's faith; at the same time that every effort of bribery and corruption is exerted to influence Roman Catholic schoolmasters to seduce the Roman Catholic children entrusted to their care, from an attachment to their creed."—O'Connell's Speeches, vol. 2, p. 29.

In 1812, O'Connell denounced the Prince Regent for violating his pledges and promises to the Catholics. Thus, the English Government had amused the Irish with the hope of emancipation, while England was at war with France. But in 1814, the Viceroy, Lord Withworth, suppressed the Catholic board; but, notwithstanding his proclamation forbidding his Majesty's subjects from attending such meetings, after some consultation, the agitators met for the transaction of business. Lord Fingall, Mr. Shiel, Mr. Ball, and others, withdrew.

O'Connell was sustained by O'Connor Don, Purcell, O'Gorman, Finlay, and Lidwell.

The American war had closed, and Napoleon was exiled to St. Helena. England recovered her wanton, tyrannical sway over Ireland. But, though England could triumph over Ireland, she was met at home by a new foe. The working and middle classes of England raised the cry of reform, in 1817. As the Prince Regent was returning from opening the Parliament of that year, he was mobbed in London. His carriage was riddled with stones, midst the hootings of the people. Though a reward of £1,000 was offered for the apprehension of the ring-leaders, no arrests were made. This was a triumph of the people! George III. died in January, 1820, in his 82d year. His reign was the longest on record! The same year died the noble, eloquent and gifted statesman, Henry Grattan, whose memory will be revered by the Irish until the end of time.

CHAPTER XIII.

In 1821, O'Connell issued an able address to his countrymen, against any further petitions for emancipation, but to join the English reform party for parliamentary reform. He declared that he had lost all hopes of obtaining emancipation, except through a reform parliament. He was opposed by the "*veto*" party, especially by Shiel.

In 1823 the O'Connell party organized the Catholic Association. The members were required to pay a guinea a year. There was a standing committee, and regular meetings were held every Saturday. This was a popular parlia-

ment, where all the grievances of Ireland were discussed. Church-rates, tithes, and the admission of Catholics into corporations. They established the Catholic rent, a *penny a month* subscription. The association was extended to every county in Ireland. In six months there were 24,000 subscribers, and the next year half a million! The contributions to the association enabled the leaders to establish an evening journal in Dublin. They had means for to be used for parliamentary elections, and defending the people in the courts. In 1824 the government became alarmed at the vast and rapid strides of the "agitators," and O'Connell was arrested on charge of sedition in a speech, where he spoke of General Bolivar, the hero of South America. The grand jury of Dublin did not find an indictment. A bill was passed to suppress all unlawful associations in Ireland. But O'Connell was not to be deterred, for he said he would "drive a coach and six through it." Though the association dissolved on the passage of this act, they formed the "New Catholic Association." In 1826 the excitement on the Catholic question agitated the whole British empire. Such writers as Moore and Dr. Doyle, and the Edinburgh Review, and William Cobbett, and Shiel, who wrote French fluently, contributed to the *Gazette de France*. This agitation was carried on on the Continent of Europe.

In 1826 the Duke de Montebellow, with Duvergier and Theyers, visited Ireland. Duvergier wrote some able articles on the "state of Ireland." The Duke had a reception at Ballinasloe, which he acknowledged, and wished their cause success. This caused great criticism from the opposition in England. This roused the Paris press, which

caused money to be sent from France to the association, as well as from British India, the West Indies and Canada.

In the United States, associations were established by the "Friends of Ireland," by Dr. McNevin of New York, and Bishop England of Charleston. The press of America took up the question, and even allusions were made in Congress in favor of Catholic emancipation.

The Wellington and Peel administration came into power January, 1828. At the opening of the parliament of this year a petition with 800,000 Catholic signers, was presented for the repeal of "the Corporation and Test Act," which had been enacted against non-conformists, in the reign of Charles II.

The corporation and test act was repealed in April. No person could before now hold any office in Ireland, civil or military, without first taking the following oath:—

"I do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do believe, that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous; and I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation, whatsoever, and without any dispensation already

granted me for this purpose, by the Pope, or any authority or person whatsoever, or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof —although the Pope, or any other person or persons, or power whatsoever, should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null or void from the beginning.”—O’Connell’s Speeches, vol. 2, p. 30.

Peel and Wellington had become odious to the people of Ireland. And O’Connell and the Catholic association publicly pledged themselves to oppose every man who took office under the Peel and Wellington administration.

Mr. O’Connell offered himself as a candidate for Clare against Mr. Fitzgerald. All of the association repaired to Clare, the scene of the contest. The people of Clare, who were under the very eyes of their landlords, elected O’Connell. Mr. Fitzgerald wrote his dispatch to Peel: “All the great interests, my dear Peel, broke down, and the desertion has been universal. Such a scene as we had! Such a tremendous prospect as is open before us.” Mr. O’Connell was received in Dublin with great acclamation of joy! Mr. Lawless was escorted, on his way to Belfast, by a multitude of 100,000 men. Troops were sent over from England, but whole companies as they landed in Waterford and Dublin made the air ring with shouts and cheers for O’Connell. Beresford predicted a second act of 1798, but on a more formidable scale!

“And now arose the most tremendous clamor of alarmed Protestantism that had been heard in the three kingdoms since the days of James II., the last king who had dreamed

of placing Catholics and Protestants on something like an approach to equality. Multitudinous petitions, not only from Irish Protestants, but from Scottish Presbyterians, from English Universities, from corporations of British towns, from private individuals, came pouring into parliament, praying that the great and noble Protestant State of England should not be handed over to the Jesuits, the Inquisitors and the *Propaganda*. Never was such a jumble of various topics, sacred and profane, as in these petitions. Vested interests; idolatry of the mass; principles of the Hanoverian succession; the inquisition; eternal privileges of the Protestant tailors, or lightermen; our holy religion; and the beast of the Apocalypse; all were urged with vehement eloquence upon the enlightened legislators of Britain."—Mitchel, p. 506.

On the 5th of March, 1828, Peel moved a committee of the whole house to go into a committee to "consider of the civil disabilities of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects," which passed by a majority of 188.

The great iron Duke was affected by the alarming state of the empire. Parliament was called on the 5th of March, and on the 31st of March the bill passed the House of Lords; on the day after it received the royal assent. So exasperated were the "ascendency party" in Ireland, and the bigots in England, on the passage of Catholic emancipation, that the imbecile George IV., in a fit of rage, trampled upon the first pen that was handed to him to sign the bill for Catholic emancipation. He shed tears on this occasion! By the insertion of the word "hereafter," Mr. O'Connell was compelled to go back for a second election. While the bill was under discussion, Mr. O'Connell presented himself

at the bar of the House of Commons, claiming his seat. He advanced to the table to be sworn, but refused to take the oath of abjuration. He afterwards pleaded his cause at the bar of the House, and withdrew. On motion of the Solicitor General it was decided "that Mr. O'Connell should not sit or vote in this House unless he first take the oath of supremacy." This motion was carried by 190 against 116. So Mr. O'Connell had to present himself once more before the people of Clare for re-election. He was returned to fill a seat in the commons, where he afterwards distinguished himself—where he became one of the foremost debaters and a true friend of Ireland, until death closed his career!

O'Connell gives this sad picture of Ireland under the penal laws, before emancipation. "My days, the blossom of my youth and the flower of my manhood, have been darkened by the dreariness of servitude. In this, my native land—in the land of my sires—I am a degraded outcast. We do not, my lord, deserve this treatment. We are stamped by the creator with no inferiority, and man is guilty of injustice when he deprives us of our just station in society. I despise him who can timidly and meanly acquiesce in the injustice. Oh, let us at length seize the opportunity of abolishing the oppression for ever!"—O'Connell's Speeches, vol. 1, p. 81.

We now behold how a few brave, public spirited men by keeping up an agitation for years, had at last wrung from their oppressors their just and inalienable rights. By a firm and unconquerable will the great agitator roused the indignation of the enlightened world against the government of England, for the oppressive and tyrannical sway

she wielded over Ireland for centuries! Let not Irishmen ever despair of the ultimate freedom of their dear fatherland!

Let us keep alive the sacred fire of liberty from generation to generation. Let us follow the bright example of the brave patriots of 1782. Let us follow the example of the immortal O'Connell and his ever indefatigable efforts for civil and religious liberty for all mankind. Let us never despair, but keep united, with the hope always before us, that Ireland will be free. Let us ever keep before us that talismanic luminary, the "Sun-burst." England cannot avoid the fate of the great nations of yore. Her weakness is Ireland's strength. Time will give us all that we want, the freedom and liberty of our dear fatherland!

We, Irishmen in America, must follow the example of the "Friends of Ireland." We are now a power on this continent. We are the balance of power. Let us always direct that power towards the liberation of Ireland—whether on the Atlantic border, the great Mississippi valley, or the golden slope of the Pacific. Let us not forget that we are destined by a wise providence to work out the final redemption of an oppressed land! Let us not forget the land of our boyhood. The land of our sires and the graves of our fathers! The land where our sires have fought and bled. The land of battle and noble deeds of valor. The land of music and song. The land of true hospitality to the stranger! The land of warriors, bards, orators, and patriots! Oh! let us never become recreant to the land where we breathed the first pure air of heaven. Let us be true Irishmen, and we will yet see our fatherland free. We, of this land, can aid to complicate the affairs of En-

gland. We can show that we are worthy of being free men by aiding by might and wisdom the noble work, the bright destiny of Ireland—her goal of freedom.

The destiny of Ireland is a free republic. Then Irishmen in all climes can raise their heads, and say, our country is free! Again, I say, let us never despair of the freedom of Ireland! Remember that the colonies of America overwhelmed English power. They had their dark hours, but they fought and conquered. And the once feeble colonies have become the mighty republic of the world! the land of refuge for the oppressed of all nations! Oh! what a noble example for Ireland to follow!

How little do many Irishmen think of the services which O'Connell rendered to Ireland; what chains have been severed from their limbs. If we remember that in the reign of George II. it was declared by the Lord Chancellor and the Chief Justice of the king's bench, in Ireland, that the law does not suppose any such person as an "Irish Roman Catholic" to exist!!! Catholics were outside the pale of the law! This may be seen from the following document, which shows that an Irishman's head was worth only five marks. Killing an Irishman was not murder, during the reign of the ascendancy of the pale:—

"The mere Irish were not only accounted aliens, but enemies, and altogether out of the protection of the law; so it was no capital offense to kill them; and this is manifest by many records. At a jail delivery at Waterford, before John Wogan, Lord Justice of Ireland, the 4th of Edward II., we find it recorded among the pleas of the crown of that year, '*That Robert Wallace being arraigned of the death of John, the son of Juor MacGillemory, by*

him feloniously slain,' and so forth, came and well acknowledged that he slew the aforesaid John, yet he said that by his slaying he could not commit felony, because, he said, the aforesaid John was a mere Irishman, and not of five bloods, and so forth; and he further said, that inasmuch as the lord of the aforesaid John, whose Irishman the said John was, on the day on which he was slain, had sought payment for the aforesaid slaying of the aforesaid John as his Irishman. He, the said Robert, was ready to answer for such payment as was just in that behalf. And thereupon a certain John Le Poer came, and for our lord the king said, that the aforesaid John, the son of Juor MacGille-mory, and his ancestors of that surname, from the time on which our Lord Henry Fitz-Empress, heretofore Lord of Ireland, the ancestor of our lord the now king, was in Ireland, the law of England in Ireland thence to the present day, of right had and ought to have, and according to that law ought to be judged and inherit. And so pleaded the character of denization granted to the Ostmen recited before, all which appeareth at large in the said record, wherein we may note that killing of an Irishman was not punished by our law, as manslaughter, which is felony and capital (for our law did neither protect his life nor avenge his death), but by a fine or pecuniary punishment, which is called *anericke*, according to the Brehon, or Irish law."

Another similar case took place in the city of Limerick, which may interest the reader. We will insert an extract from the record. The case was tried in the reign of Edward II. "William Fitz-Roger, being arraigned for the death of Roger de Cantelon, by him feloniously slain,

comes and says that he could not commit felony by means of such killing; because the aforesaid Roger was an Irishman, and not of free blood. And further says that the said Roger was of the surname of O'Hederiscal, and not of the surname of Cantelon; and of this he puts himself on the country, and so forth. And the jury upon their oaths say, that the aforesaid Roger was an Irishman of the surname of O'Hederiscal, and for an Irishman, was reputed all his life; and therefore, the said William, as far as regards the aforesaid felony, is acquitted. But as much as the aforesaid Roger O'Hederiscal was an Irishman of our lord the king, the aforesaid William was recommitted to jail, until he shall find pledges to pay five marks to our lord the king, for the value of the aforesaid Irishman."

Thus ended the days of the penal laws which excluded the Catholics of Ireland from all participation in the so-called British Constitution and laws. They were put outside of the pale of the law. They were in consequence of the odious penal code, made aliens in the land of their forefathers. This infamous and bloody code prevented them from acquiring an interest in the soil. If a Catholic purchased a freehold, his Protestant neighbor could take it from him without paying one cent of the purchase money. A Catholic was not allowed to own a horse worth more than £5, for if he owned a horse worth even £30 his Protestant neighbor could take the horse on tendering to his unfortunate Catholic neighbor £5. The great object of the *penal code* was to keep the Catholics in the most abject poverty. It was made a penal offense, punishable by transportation beyond the seas, for to teach a Catholic science or literature. Thus they were doomed by law from

receiving an education, and then taunted for being ignorant! A reward was offered for the head of a Catholic schoolmaster. The Catholic schools, in the time of the penal code, were held in mountains, glens and under hedges. Hence the term "hedge schools." Catholics were excluded from all offices, civil or military. They were disqualified by this odious law from sitting on juries! They were excluded from all corporations. They were disfranchised, and had no voice in the making of these laws which they were forced to obey. Catholic lords could not vote in the house of lords. Catholic bishops and priests were prohibited from exercising the functions of their religion in Ireland under the pains and penalties of death! The mildest punishment was transportation beyond the seas; and if they returned from banishment they were deemed guilty of high treason, and hanged, drawn and quartered! Priest hunting was a money-making business in those evil times. Priests and bishops had to hide in mountains, bogs, glens and caverns. The same sum was paid for a priest's head as was paid for the head of a wolf. The humanity of the penal code would not permit priests to be educated in Ireland; they had to go to the colleges of Spain, France, and Rome. For such priests to return to Ireland was made high treason. It was also made penal to shelter priests or bishops. Commissioners were appointed to repair to the seaports in order to arrest such priests or bishops, or any person giving them aid or comfort. We will quote an order of the good Queen Bess for the arrest of priests:

"In order to defeat the secret machinations of these seminaries, jesuits and other traitors, who are urging the king of Spain to his present designs, and under a garb of sanc-

tity, insinuate themselves into the minds of our subjects, and encourage them to rebel, we have determined to send commissioners immediately to all countries, provinces, towns, villages, and seaports of our kingdom, with orders to make every necessary effort for the discovery of such characters as think any obedience whatsoever is due to the Pope or to the king of Spain.

“ Being aware that several of these seminarians, disguised in female attire, enter our kingdom, and by assuming the name of foreigners, gain admittance into the universities, courts of princes, and the families of noblemen, we expressly command each and every one, of what rank, sect, condition, or dignity soever they may be, even the officers of our household, the ministers and magistrates, the heads of families, and pastors, to search carefully for all who within the past fourteen months have frequented their houses, and have lived, slept, eaten with, or labored for them, or may labor for them in future; also to give a return of their names, rank, and quality, their birthplace, and where they have lived for a whole year before they came to their houses, on what they subsist, how they have been employed, what places they frequented, and those with whom they keep intercourse, and if, at the periods prescribed by law, they have attended divine service in our churches.

“ We likewise command that these inquiries, with the answers given them, be committed to writing by the heads of each family, and that they be carefully preserved, in order that they may be resorted to by our commissioners as they may think proper, both for the discovery of doubtful characters and to convince them of the correctness and loyalty of the fathers of families.

“Should any hesitate to answer, or appear to waver in their testimony, it is our will that they be forthwith arrested, and brought under a strong guard to the nearest commissioner; and that the same measure be enforced against the heads of families who will manifest omission or lenity in the investigations; and that our commissioners shall punish, according to the degree of their offense, such as may have been known to have favored suspected persons, or to have neglected giving them up within twenty days after the publication of this decree. They shall be subjected to the same penalty as traitors and rebels, and likewise will be deemed their abettors and accomplices, in faith of which we ordain, expressly and firmly, that no favor or respect be shown to either rank or dignity, and finally, that no neglect be tolerated in those who have not discovered traitors, or used their exertions for the discovery of them, which so far from being contrary to law, are in accordance with the most ancient laws and customs of our kingdom, for the maintenance of that obedience which is due to us and to the stability of our government.”

* * “She (Elizabeth) condemned those who refused to take the oath of supremacy, to death, and deprived them of their estates—their refusal being considered an act of high treason.”—MacGeoghegan, p. 503.

The dominant party, by virtue of the bloody penal code, could inflict their Catholic neighbors with all the horrors of nocturnal visits, whenever it suited their avarice, or when prompted by the demon of hate and revenge. Search for Catholic priests was deemed fair game at any time. They could rob Catholics at pleasure. The very authorities themselves disgraced and perverted the law for filthy lucre

and the vilest purposes. For a Catholic to offend any of the local petty tyrants, the so-called magistrates, he was sure of being put to death. The proprietor of the "*Great House*" reigned in his little territory as a petty king. Every court and castle had its petty Nimrod. Obedience to their will and sweet pleasure was the law of the neighborhood. A Catholic, or indeed a poor liberal Protestant, had no rights which these tyrants were bound to respect.

"No Catholic or reputed Catholic, had a moment's security or peace. At all hours, but generally in the night time, the agents of the queen entered his house by breaking it open; rushed in different directions into the rooms; broke open closets, chests, drawers; rummaged beds and pockets — everywhere for crosses, vestments, prayer or mass books, or anything appertaining to the Catholic worship, or that could afford suspicion that a priest frequented the house. As to the poorer portion of the Catholics, those who were not able to pay these heavy fines, they were whipped publicly; they were branded with red-hot irons in the forehead or ears; and none durst let them in or harbor them.

"There were many kinds of torture invented by this cruel woman; but her favorite engine was the rack, which we must examine as presented to us by the English historian, Dr. Lingard:—

"The rack was a large open frame of oak, raised three feet from the ground. The prisoner was stretched on his back, on the floor, under this square frame; his wrists and ankles were attached, by cords, to rollers at the ends of the frame; these were tightened by drawing the cords in opposite directions, by levers, till the body rose from the floor

to a level with the frame. Questions were then put to the unfortunate victim; and, if the answers did not prove satisfactory, the sufferer was stretched more and more, till the bones started from their sockets.”—Mooney, vol. 1, pp. 639–40–41.

The sacred functions of religion were employed for the confiscation of Irish estates. The Irish were despoiled of their homes in the name of God and liberty. Confiscation was deemed by the agents of Elizabeth as the most potent means for converting the Irish Catholics. Every vile scheme of the “undertakers” had for its object the plunder of the Irish by some means or other—for the salvation of their souls, of course!

“The agents of Elizabeth pursued, by her direction, a crafty course. They did not disclose their objects in general confiscation and extermination. They engaged in the warfare of the chiefs and clans against each other. In some places they warred openly, and vanquished and cut down whole districts, parceling out the lands of the slain amongst the survivors of English adventurers, who now came into the country. On the breaking up of the monasteries in England, and the consequent withdrawal of employment and relief which had been previously afforded to the people by the industrious and considerate monks, the towns of England became thronged with idle, starving people, who gladly enlisted in any enterprise which promised them a change from their present condition. Already had a scale of booty been laid down and afforded to all those who should volunteer into the Queen’s army for the conquest of Ireland. To a footman one hundred and twenty acres, and to a horseman two hundred acres, of the lands of Ireland,

were proposed to be given, which were to be held in fee from the queen, or from some of her favorites, on payment of a penny or two pence per annum, per acre, by the fortunate soldiers.

“It does not surprise us to be told that the half of the inhabitants of England and Scotland were in motion for the pillage and butchery of the unfortunate people of Ireland. To heighten the materials of strife, the sacred name of religion was introduced between the combatants. The whole system of the penal laws of England, against those who adhered to the Catholic religion, was transferred to Ireland. Those who refused to conform to the queen’s standard of worship were fined so heavily that their estates were soon consumed. These estates, whether owned by persons of English or Irish extraction, were confiscated to the queen, and given to her new favorites, for distribution among their followers.

“Religion was only used as a pretence, to seize on all the property of the nation ; and, more absurdly monstrous, the Irish people really did not know what the form of faith was which the queen proposed for their adoption.”—Moo-ney, vol. 1, pp. 645–46.

“On the 23d of February, 1641, an order was issued from the council chamber of Dublin Castle, to kill every human being supposed to be a rebel, or who gave assistance to a supposed rebel. This dreadful order was literally carried into effect ; and the justices declare, says Leland, (book 5,) “that the soldiers slew all persons promiscuously, not sparing the women or children.”

If a Catholic, but especially a Catholic priest, provoked the displeasure of the local magistrates, in the days of the

penal laws, he was doomed to be cut off and his property confiscated by some vile scheme or another. A complaint or charge of inciting whiteboys, or of being a whiteboy, was very convenient at any time to put a victim to death. For the magistrates, those demons in human clothing, had the purse and the sword, even the courts of law, such as they were, at their disposal. They could employ the government funds to bribe corrupt and perjured wretches to swear away the lives of their innocent victims. In this manner the laws of England were perverted to subserve the vile and diabolical ends of the oligarchy. No wonder the people should rejoice at the dawn of religious liberty.

John Mitchell gives the following picture of the blood-stained Sir Thomas Maude, in his bloody career in Tipperary in persecuting Father Sheehy :

“But his ” (Father Sheehy) “inveterate enemies, who, like so many blood-hounds had pursued him to Dublin, finding themselves disappointed there, resolved upon his destruction at all events. One Bridge, an infamous informer against some of those who had been executed for these riots, was said to have been murdered by their associates in revenge (although his body could never be found, and a considerable reward was offered for discovering and convicting the murderer). Sheehy, immediately after his acquittal in Dublin for rebellion, was indicted by his pursuers for this murder, and, notwithstanding the promise given him by those in office on surrendering himself, he was transmitted to Clonmel, to be tried there for the new crime, and, upon the sole evidence of the same infamous witness, whose testimony had been so justly reprobated in Dublin, was there condemned to be hanged and quartered for the

murder of a man who was never murdered at all. What barefaced injustice and inhumanity were shown to this unfortunate man on that occasion, is known and testified to by many thousands of credible persons who were present, and eye-witnesses on the day of his trial. A party of horse surrounded the court, admitting and excluding whomsoever they thought proper, while others of them, with Sir Thomas Maude at their head, scampered the streets in a formidable manner, breaking into inns and private lodgings in the town, challenging all new-comers, menacing the prisoner's friends, and encouraging his enemies; even after sentence of death was pronounced against him (which one would think might have satisfied the malice of his enemies) his attorney found it necessary for his safety, to steal out of the town by night, and with all possible speed make his escape to Dublin. The head of the brave murdered priest was spiked over the gates of Clonmell jail, and there remained twenty years."—Mitchel, pp. 101-2.

Queen Anne has made her reign infamous for her sanction of the odious penal laws, a code which disgraces even humanity. Those laws were never made in the spirit of religion, but in vile perversion of religion for political purposes. The sanctuary of religion was invaded, and liberty of conscience forbidden under pain of death. The darling object of the authors of those penal laws was to rob Catholics of their estates, and thus to exclude them from all participation in the laws of their country. We copy from an Irish historian the following, showing the tyranny of England under Queen Anne:

"The good Queen Anne endeavored to excel his majesty (William) in her affection for her Irish subjects. She

therefore commenced her administration of Ireland with a perfidious violation of every law, divine and human. Having had the unprincipled courage to break the solemn obligations into which the English nation had entered with Ireland, when the latter agreed to lay down her arms at Limerick, the English government could, with less difficulty, proceed to the commission of every outrage which its avarice, or its spirit of despotism might chance to suggest. Queen Anne introduced her ferocious system of government in Ireland by an act which went to expel the inhabitants of Ireland from the lands of their fathers. She enacted that no Catholic should have power of purchasing any part of the forfeited lands; and that all leases which might have been made of such lands, shall be annulled, except those leases which might have been made to the poor cottagers of two acres; thus giving to the Irish such privileges as might best secure their vassalage to their taskmasters. 'A law so barbarous,' says Mr. O'Connor, 'has no parallel in the history of nations.' Yet the genius of the 'good Queen Anne' could surpass the barbarity, as we shall see hereafter. No lapse of time could purge the Catholic of the hideous crime of fidelity to his religion and attachment to his country. Never could he have the power, by the honorable labors of industry, of recovering those lands which were forfeited by the intemperate spirit of his fathers. He should consent to abandon every principle of honor and morality before he could be qualified to be received into the bosom of the glorious constitution. Such an act might have for some time satisfied the craving appetite of rapacity; but so long as the victim had life, so long had the oppressor a propensity to indulge

in cruelty. The act, therefore, which in its vicious perfection seems to reach the very summit of monopolizing malignity, is the act for preventing the further growth of Popery, by which Presbyterian and Catholic were equally levelled to the ground; in which the advocates of the church took their merciless vengeance on their old republican persecutors, whose industry and genius were then raising the worth of Ireland into wealth, numbers and consequence. This wealth might have circulated among the Catholics of the west and the south; and the spirit of political liberty, which ever found an asylum in the bosom of the Presbyterian, might have communicated its contagion to the almost extinguished embers of Catholic patriotism. The bill above mentioned, so celebrated for its infamy, went to the total expulsion of the Catholics from any right or property in land. It disabled them from purchasing either lands or tenements, or taking by inheritance, devise, or gift, any lands in the hands of Protestants; making all estates which they might then hold, descendable by gavel kind, except in cases of conformity of the eldest son, rendering the father a mere tenant for life, depriving him of the power of alienating, mortgaging or encumbering, even for the support or the advancement of younger children, except under the control and discretion of the chancellor. Had the 'good Queen Anne' and her Irish monopolists passed an act which would have banished the entire Catholic population of Ireland to some foreign though hospitable country, humanity might have had some consolation on which it might have reposed. But this would not have been the complete and finished work of despotism, which advocates of the free constitution of England so fondly

meditated in Ireland. The Catholic slave would no longer have ministered to the pastime of the task-master—the torture would have been removed, and the groans of the suffering, though unoffending people, would have no longer soothed their tyrants to the sweet sleep of peace and security.”—Lawless’ *History of Ireland*, volume 2, pp. 320–1–2.

“The 27th of Elizabeth—the old act of uniformity—was vigorously enforced. The Catholic lawyers were disbarred and silenced; the Catholic schoolmasters were forbidden to teach, under pain of felony. Recusants, surrounded in glens and caves, offering up the holy sacrifice through the ministry of some daring priest, were shot down or smoked out like vermin. The ecclesiastics never, in any instance, were allowed to escape. Among those who suffered death during the short space of the Protectorate, we counted three bishops and three hundred ecclesiastics. The surviving prelates were in exile, except the bed-ridden Bishop of Kilmore, who for years had been unable to officiate. So that, now that the ancient hierarchy, which in the worst Danish wars had still recruited its ranks as fast as they were broken, seemed on the very eve of extinction.”—McGee, *Hist. Ireland*, vol. 2, pp. 550–51.

The following is from a historian of the pale—one of the dominant party:

“The means of conversion which the Protector (Somerset) designed to use in Ireland, were soon exemplified. A party, issuing from the garrison of Athlone, attacked the ancient church of Clonmacnoise, destroyed its ornaments, and defiled its altars. Similar excesses were committed in other parts of the country; and the first impression pro-

duced by the advocates of the reformed religion was, that the new system sanctioned sacrilege and robbery.”—Taylor’s History of the Civil Wars of Ireland.

The following picture of Ireland’s wrongs is taken from a colonial historian of the pale :

“Extortions and oppressions of the soldiers in various excursions from their quarters, for levying the king’s rents, or supporting the civil power; a *rigorous and tyrannical execution of martial law in time of peace*; a dangerous and unconstitutional power assumed by the privy council in deciding causes determinable by common law; their severe treatment of witnesses and jurors in the castle chamber, whose evidence or verdicts had been displeasing to the State; the grievous exactions of the established clergy for the occasional duties of their functions; and the severity of the ecclesiastical courts.”—Leland.

Cromwell and his saints plundered the people for the good of their souls, and reduced them to the most abject poverty. Papists and rebels were the names applied to the Irish Catholics who resisted the power of this usurper and invader. His march through the country was marked with the blood of his victims. He wasted the country with fire, sword and famine. In vain do we search the history of the world, ancient or modern, for a more inhuman or merciless butcher. Cromwell’s saints tried the experiment of converting the Irish with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other—“blood on their hands and Scripture on their lips.” His method of converting the Irish, was not by argument, but by the sword and plunder. His so-called courts of justice are known as “Cromwell’s slaughter houses,” to this day.

We will quote the following from Lawless :

“Courts of justice were appointed whose sanguinary decrees suggested the name of ‘Cromwell’s slaughter houses.’ These infamous tribunals were erected under the pretext of bringing to justice the promoters of, and the actors in the rebellion of 1641; but the real object was the confiscation of property, and the destruction of the Irish. The feelings of humanity and the principles were boastingly trampled on. To be cruel to the Irish was to be humane and religious; to plunder their properties and beggar their children, was to enrich the godly and disseminate the gospel. Thus would the rapacious destroyer insult the justice of Omnipotence by the hypocritical adoption of His word, and the religion which was intended to give peace and security to mankind, was made the instrument of desolation and barbarity. * * * A writer cotemporary with those tragical events (Morrison) strains his memory for examples of such relentless barbarity as was exhibited in Ireland. ‘Neither the Israelites,’ he says, ‘were more cruelly persecuted by Pharaoh, nor the innocent infants by Herod, nor the christians by Nero, nor any of the other pagan tyrants, than were the Roman Catholics of Ireland at this fatal juncture, by Cromwell’s savage commissioners.’”—Lawless’ History of Ireland, vol. 2, pp. 148-49-50.

Ireland also suffered under the vile reign of the so-called “good Queen Anne.” Her policy was not only to deprive the Irish Catholics of all rights under the law, but to ruin their trade and commerce. *Monopoly and high tariffs* were the weapons which proved more disastrous to the Irish than the sword of the warrior. In this reign the infamous and bloody penal code drove multitudes of Irishmen

to seek shelter on the continent of Europe. Can any intelligent and unprejudiced mind wonder that the Irish are unwilling subjects of England. That notwithstanding their many defeats in their struggle for independence, that they should still hope for an opportunity to free their country; that whenever England is involved in difficulties the Irish should strike for the freedom of their fatherland.

The same patriotic writer gives us a sad picture of English despotism—of the cruel spirit of monopoly. The spirit of rule or ruin in the reign of Queen Anne:

“The furious and insatiable spirit of monopoly preferred the government of a desert to that of a happy and contented people; and the constitution in church and state was pronounced secure against its enemies, when the people of Ireland were stripped of every privilege and every right which separates humanity from the brute creation. Mr. Mathew O'Connor has summed up the effects of the ferocious law of Queen Anne, in a strong and comprehensive description, creditable to the sensibility which dictated it, and worthy of the spirit of his ancient and respectable family. ‘The immediate effect of this law,’ he writes, ‘was the emigration of vast numbers of the inhabitants, who sought shelter in exile, and found a refuge in the armies of the Catholic powers of the continent. The sentiment of persecution was completed by this act, and never was system attended with more effectual success; private manners were debauched, public sentiment debased, and every faculty of the mind enervated. The contrast of the sudden and certain acquisition of landed property by the obvious and easy method of discovery, with the slow and uncertain acquirement of wealth by the laborious pursuits

of industry, nourished the principle of dishonesty, and the total disregard of shame and infamy. The rewards of conformity cherished the seeds of rebellion in the minds of the children against parents, and of distrust in the minds of parents against children.'"—Lawless' Hist. Ireland, vol. 2, pp. 327-28.

During the days of the infamous penal code, Catholics, as we have said before, were not allowed to be educated in Ireland. But the governments of France and Spain established colleges for the instruction of the Catholic Irish youth. All the Catholics of Ireland, prior to the passage of the second Catholic relief bill in 1793, had to go to foreign countries to get an education. The poorer classes had to follow the Irish school-masters to the wild mountains or unfrequented glens. The humanity of the British government in the plenitude of its religious zeal, issued an order commanding such Irish students to return home. This same order prohibited parents or guardians sending money to such students. It was also made a penal offense, punishable with death, to harbor or shelter priests or bishops.

"An edict was published commanding all who had children, wards or relations in foreign countries, to send, within ten days, their names to the judge of the district, to recall them within four months, and present them immediately on their return, to the said judge. By the same edict it was prohibited to send them money; and every one was strictly forbidden to receive these Seminaries or Jesuits into his house, or to support, nourish, or relieve them in any manner, under pain of being considered rebels, and punished according to the laws. In consequence of this proclama-

tion, several priests, Jesuits, and monks, suffered martyrdom."

In the early days of the reformation, the confiscation of the estates of the Irish gave a new stimulant to converts from that faith which was under the terrors of the law, to join that faith which held out the double lure of the good things of this world with those of the next, but especially the estates of the pre-doomed Irish Catholics.

The British parliament confiscated the property of bishops who conferred on Irish Catholics any privileges whatever. The Irish Catholics were deemed to be outside of the protection of all law, human or divine. The British parliament passed several acts for the establishment of the Protestant religion. The sword and confiscation were considered more potent than the preachings of the apostles or the writings of the fathers.

"In the council of England it was decreed that the possessions of every archbishop, bishop, abbot, or prior in Ireland, should be seized, who would present to, or confer on Irish rebels, any benefice, or would introduce them among the English at any parliament, council, or other assembly of the kingdom. All governors, too, were forbidden to confirm such benefices, or to grant any dispensation for possessing them, under pain of having them annulled.

* * * "The desire of increasing their possessions causing the latter constantly to encroach upon the properties of their neighbors. The Irish, indeed, enjoyed no protection from the laws, but were looked upon, not as subjects, but as strangers and enemies, in the land which gave them birth. They were continually exposed to the unjust aggressions of their adversaries, and therefore forced to

violate their engagements and break out into rebellion.”—MacGeoghegan.

“The law which compelled the Irish to return to their own country, was renewed in England; and it was prohibited to all of the king’s subjects in Ireland to emigrate to England, A. D. 1438.”—MacGeoghegan, p. 362.

“Several acts were passed in this parliament for the establishment of the reformation in Ireland; all the spiritual and ecclesiastical authorities were annexed to the crown, and all foreign influence (which implied that of the Pope) was prohibited; all acts appertaining to appeals were renewed; * * * the queen and her successors were given the power of exercising clerical jurisdiction by commission; every individual, whether lay or ecclesiastical, in possession of livings and offices, was obliged to take the oath of supremacy under pain of losing their livings or appointments; whoever would introduce or support a foreign power was to be punished by having his property confiscated, or by a year’s imprisonment, for the first offense; for the second, he was to undergo the penalty of the law of *praemunire*, and for the third, that of high treason. * * * Thus was the Senate established judge of the faith, without any mission but that which was received from a woman.”—*Ibid.*

The British Parliament established by law the worship and discipline of the new religion. Irishmen were now compelled, under pain of death and confiscation of their homes, to give up the religion of their fathers for a religion established by the parliament of England, although they had no voice in the making of those laws, such as they were. The reader will think it strange that any parliament

should arrogate to itself the right of so regulating the consciences of men, much more so of those who had no hand or part in the making of such laws. This was one of the worst systems of the union of church and state recorded in the history of nations, ancient or modern.

“This parliament also passed acts ordaining the uniformity of the common prayer, regulating the sacraments, particularly that of the Lord’s Supper, and also the consecration of prelates according to the ritual of the book of common prayer, as approved by Edward VI., under pain of fine to be paid by the delinquents. The first refusal led to the confiscation of a year’s income of the culprit, and six months’ imprisonment. The second to the loss of his living, and a year’s imprisonment; and the third to imprisonment for life.

“In the same statutes the restitution of the first fruits was decreed, and the payment of a twentieth part of the revenues to the crown; lastly, it was enacted that the queen’s right to the crown should be acknowledged, and it was prohibited to all persons, under pain of *praemunire*, or high treason, to speak or write against it.”—MacGeoghegan, p. 458.

The estates of the Earls of Tyrone and Tirconnell, and six whole counties in the province of Ulster, were confiscated for the benefit of the crown, without examination or trial. These counties were divided between several English and Scotch Protestants, under such regulations, as were obviously intended to produce ruin, both to the people and to their religion. Besides the pecuniary fines that were inflicted, and the other penalties that were enacted against Catholics, it was specifically inserted in the patents

that no portion of these lands should be sold, transferred or farmed except to and by Protestants exclusively.

"Persecution was becoming more and more violent against Catholics; and new proclamations were issued against the bishops, Jesuits and Seminarians. James was as tenacious of the title of the head of the church as any of his predecessors who had usurped it, to deny it being made a capital crime."—MacGeoghegan, p. 563.

"The cruelties practiced during four hundred years, particularly throughout the fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign, were sufficient to make the most civilized sink into a state of barbarism and ferocity. They (the English) deny them the privilege of the laws, and treat them altogether as strangers and enemies, unprotected on the side of justice.

"The denial of the protection of the laws to the Irish, was productive of the most frightful consequences; from this arose usurpation, rapine, murder, and a violation of all law human and divine. To kill a mere Irishman, or a wild animal, were crimes of equal import. The murderer was acquitted by saying, 'the person killed was a mere Irishman, and not of free blood,' consequently the judge pronounced according to the law, and the criminal was freed. Of this, many examples have been extracted from the archives in the castle of Dublin, by Davis, who was himself an Englishman. But here is a case in which the most inconceivable cruelties are sanctioned by the law against a whole nation. Such has been for many centuries the conduct of the English towards the people of Ireland. They have the hardened audacity to treat as barbarous, men whose only crime has been to defend their religion and

properties against the criminal attempts of usurpers."—
Ibid, 585.

Thanks to providence, the light of the nineteenth century expelled the dark clouds of religious bigotry from the minds of the liberal party in England. The commercial and manufacturing towns of England neutralized the poisonous bigotry of the English squires and Irish Orangemen, and the Tory lords of both countries. We may here remark that a bigot is a bigot and a Tory a Tory, whether he be an Englishman or an Irishman, (an anti-Irishman.) From my reading of history, I do verily believe that the Irish Orangeman is the most virulent bigot of all! What excuse could he offer for denying to his Catholic neighbors the protection of the constitution and the laws? No wonder that the fathers and founders of the constitution of the United States should be so anxious to guarantee in the constitution of the United States religious liberty—the liberty of conscience to all mankind forever. Those venerable patriots, many of whom were able historians and jurists, and having before them the sad and deplorable example and sad workings of the *bloody Irish penal code*, wisely provided by the supreme law of the land, that bigots in Congress and in the State legislatures should not inflict the American people with a penal code. For they knew that the few Irish Orangemen then in the United States and the Blue Light Federalists, the prototypes of the Native Americans and the Know-Nothings, and the bigoted Puritans, would revive the witch burnings and blue laws of the penal days.

THE ANTI-IRISHMAN.

Air—The Irishman.

- "From polar seas to torrid climes,
Where'er the trace of man is found,
What common feeling marks our kind,
And sanctifies each spot of ground?
What virtue in the human heart
The proudest tribute can command?
The dearest, purest, holiest, best,
The lasting love of Fatherland!
- "Then who's the wretch that basely spurns
The ties of country, kindred, friends—
That barter every nobler aim
For sordid views—for private ends?
One slave alone on earth you'll find
Through Nature's universal span,
So lost to virtue—dead to shame,
The anti-Irish Irishman.
- "Our fields are fertile, rich our floods,
Our mountains bold, majestic, grand;
Our air is balm, and every breeze
Wings health around our native land.
But who despises all her charms,
And mocks her gifts where'er he can?
Why he, the Norman's sneaking slave,
The anti-Irish Irishman.
- "The Norman—spawn of fraud and guile!
Ambitious sought our peaceful shore,
And, leagued with native guilt, despoiled
And deluged Erin's fields with gore!
Who gave the foe-man footing here?
What wretch unholy led her van?
The prototype of modern slaves,
An anti-Irish Irishman!
- "For ages rapine ruled our plains,
And slaughter raised his red right hand;
And virgins shriek'd and roof-trees blaz'd,
And desolation swept the land!
And who would not those ills arrest,
Or aid the patriotic plan
To burst his country's galling chains?
The anti-Irish Irishman!

“ But now too great for fetters grown,
 Too proud to bend a slavish knee,
 Loved Erin mocks the tyrant's thrall,
 And firmly vows she shall be free!
 But mark your treacherous, stealthy knave
 That bends beneath his country's ban;
 Nor let him dash a nation's hopes,
 The anti-Irish Irishman !

“ Hurrah ! ‘ the sun-burst ! ’—once again,
 Our oriflamme is on the gale,
 With shamrock wreaths encircling
 The blazon'd, glorious words ‘ Repeal ! ’
 The coward slave that quits his post,
 Let Argus eyes the traitor scan,
 And infamy, eternal, brand
 The anti-Irish Irishman ! ”

—*Spirit of the Nation.*

CHAPTER XIV.

AGITATION FOR A REPEAL OF THE UNION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN
 AND IRELAND. AGITATION TO ABOLISH TITHES.

Manufactures—The government destroys the tobacco crop in Ireland—Reform—French revolution—Martial law—Public meetings suppressed—O'Connell's arrest—Rotten boroughs—Wellington—Lord Grey—Coercion—Repeal—Courts martial—Tithes—Repeal—Peers—Bribery—Chartists—Reform—Public meetings in 1840—Population of Ireland—Reform in 1841—Monster meetings in 1843—The meeting of Clontarf—State trials—Bribed judges and packed juries—O'Connell found guilty—Appeal to the House of Lords—O'Connell free—The repealers secede from the British parliament—“ Council of three hundred ”—“ Eighty-two club ”—Rupture of the repealers.

We have said that Ireland lost everything and gained nothing by the accursed union with England ! We have

said that the crafty Pitt and his infamous instrument, Robert Stewart, better known as Castlereagh, promised that the union would become the grand source of Irish prosperity. But, alas! it has been the means of inflicting on Ireland all her woes and wrongs. The accursed union annihilated Irish nationality, manufactures, trade, and commerce, while it augmented the burdens of taxation. This stupendous mountain of taxation fell on the farmers! By the odious acts of 59 George III., £4,700,000 were used in public works for "the united kingdom." Yet, out of this enormous fund only £200,000 were spent in Ireland, while £450,000 were spent in England. Oh! just England! This is Irish equality with a vengeance! This is English justice to her dear sister Ireland! Yet Englishmen tell us that we are all brethren. That we are all protected by the same dear old flag! Another curse of the fatal union, is the drain of millions of dollars by the absentee landlords out of Ireland to be spent in England, besides the vast sums paid to the English government in "high protective tariffs." Thus, Ireland has to pay in tribute to England millions without compensation! As a matter of course all this great burden must be borne by the toiling millions! By the annihilation of Irish manufactures, by unjust laws, the Irish are compelled to buy the products of English looms, which amounts to about one-sixth of all British exported goods! But to add more to this greed of British avarice, (and to the impoverishment of Ireland,) an act of parliament was passed, in 1833, prohibiting the manufacture of beet-root sugar in Ireland.

In 1833 the farmers in the south of Ireland were extensively engaged in growing tobacco, which yielded great

profit. But such was the greed, jealousy and rapacity of the English government, that an act of parliament was passed prohibiting the growth of tobacco in Ireland. And the same humane government sent commissioners with police through the south of Ireland, who, like so many barbarians, destroyed the tobacco crop! Ought we wonder that Irishmen should be dissatisfied with the government of England. The outrages of British rulers had alienated the great bulk of the people from the English government. The agitation for Catholic emancipation kept alive the flame of hostility. The people were educated to know their own power. The people saw that all those promises made by Pitt were a delusion. The bold agitator, O'Connell, had promised the people at the Clare election that he would raise the great standard of "repeal." The outrages of the British aristocracy in England made the people of that country dissatisfied with the government of the "favored few." This aided the great agitator of Ireland to co-operate with the reform party in England to humble the aristocracy.

The cry of reform spoiled the digestion of the noble lords. Reform hung over them, disturbing their slumbers like a nightmare. A reform parliament, the public debt, the tithes, rotten corporations, were the great popular questions which agitated the public mind. The working men, under their trade unions, agitated for reform of parliament. By these means the reforms of 1830, 1831 and 1833, were wrung from the despotic and vile aristocracy! The French revolution of 1830 materially added to the intensity of the excitement of the public mind. This revolution was hailed with delight in Ireland, as it was supposed that it might be

a source of some difficulty to England. For O'Connell's maxim was, "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity." This was the golden hour for O'Connell to raise the standard of "Repeal." Earl Grey was prime minister, and Anglesey Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Lord Anglesey commenced his administration with the viper Stanley as his secretary, by proclaiming martial law, so as to put down public meetings by the point of the bayonet, his grand object being to break down the spirit of the people by military terror and crush the liberty of the press.

We will here quote from an eye-witness, the deplorable tyranny of Ireland under the oligarchy, and their opposition to the freedom of the Press:

"The precarious state of personal liberty in Ireland, was one of the most glaring grievances; *the want of a HABEAS CORPUS* statute gave absolute power to any government which might venture experiments of a despotic nature, and enabled the minister to suppress, in the very first instance, the liberty of the press—the ablest advocate of reform—the most powerful auxiliary of freedom."—Barrington, page 113.

O'Connell and his friends treated the despotic proclamation with contempt. They spoke over their coffee, about the despotism of England and the repeal of the union. By the counsel of Plunket, indictments were found against O'Connell, Barrett, Steele, Reynolds, and Redmond. Those state trials created great excitement, and the prosecutions failed, and O'Connell gained a decided victory over the government. In the new parliament the Irish repealers joined the liberals of England for reform. O'Connell made an able and powerful speech, and the rot-

ten boroughs were abolished. The Lords, these ancient enemies of reform, "obstructed" the reform bill for three months. But O'Connell had so stirred up the London mob, that even with Wellington at their head the "obstructed Lords" dare not pass outside of their houses. The Wellington ministry was compelled, after six months, to resign! This was a noble triumph over the proud and haughty aristocracy of England. The Grey ministry, in 1831-2, promised "additional reform." But the Irish people gained nothing but a "coercion bill."

CHAPTER XV.

The people of Ireland still kept up the cry of *repeal* and "down with the tithes." This agitated the public mind, and the military butchered the unarmed people, which only made the tithe system more odious and intolerable.

The parsons drove the farmers' stock to the pounds, to be sold at public auction, but no one would bid for them; they were then shipped over to England, but the English people would not bid for them. The people both of Ireland and England were opposed to the tithes.

It is but natural that the toiling millions of both England and Ireland should feel unwilling to pay tithes; when it shall be remembered that churchmen of that church, "by law established," lived in lordly State. That the Archbishop of Armagh, the primate of Ireland, wrung yearly from the working people of Ireland an income of about four times as large as the salary of the President of the United States!

The parsons then resorted to the forms and fictions of law for the collection of tithes. The people were indicted for "conspiracy to defraud." The viper Stanley had additional troops sent to Ireland to coerce the people to pay the odious and abominable tithes. Attorney General Smith sued out "writs of rebellion" and "outlawry" to oppress the farmers by expensive law-suits, which put the people to great expense to defend themselves in the courts at Dublin. But, notwithstanding all this tyranny, the parsons could not, even with the police and red-coats, collect the tithes. The parsons, as well as the English government, became more and more unpopular. Though the hirelings of the ascendancy murdered men, women and children, in their attempts to collect the iniquitous and abominable tithes, they failed to get much money. The people were not only loud in their complaints against the government for collecting tithes by the point of the bayonet, but for the rejections of Catholics and liberal Protestants from sitting on grand juries—thus making British law, in Ireland, a solemn mockery!

"The tithe war raged violently this year; the people were becoming more and more indisposed to pay Protestant rectors, especially in the south of Ireland, where those rectors often have no flocks. On the banks of the Slaney, on the very border between Wexford and Carlow county, and at the foot of the stately Mount Leinster, stands the little town of Newtownbarry. On the 18th of June, 1831, this usually quiet village was the scene of a bloody tithe tragedy. The Rev. Mr. McClintock would have his tithe; and by aid of the police and yeomanry, he had seized the crops and goods of several persons in the neighborhood,

These things were to be auctioned in Newtownbarry market place on the market day. Before that day anonymous written notices were sent to many persons in the country, requesting them to come in and *attend* the sale of their neighbors' pigs, beds and kettles.

Considerable numbers of the people attended in consequence, but not armed; their object being only to keep persons back from bidding at this auction. It was known that large crowds had come in, and that the forced sale must almost certainly produce a collision. But the Rev. Mr. McClintock would have his rights. The property seized was brought into town guarded by a large force of constabulary, who were to be supported, if needful, by another large force of yeomanry. The sale opened; the people pressed forward, and kept away by a show of intimidation, the few who might have been disposed to purchase. At last the police attacked the unarmed multitudes, were seconded with great alacrity by the yeomanry, and very soon thirteen slain men and twenty wounded were lying in their blood on the streets of Newtownbarry. No person was ever brought to punishment for this slaughter. Indeed, it was felt by the Orange party, that the Rev. Mr. McClintock had only shown proper spirit in vindicating his rights—that this course of intimidation had gone too far—and that it was time an example should be made; more moderate persons, however, even of the established church, could not but think it unfortunate that ministers of religion should so often have to wring their blood-stained dues out of the very vitals of parishioners, who hate them and all their works.”—Mitchel, page 515.

Specious and plausible arguments were employed by the

advocates for and against the tithes. Biblical, historical, and legal lore—satire, wit, humor, and severe invective were the weapons employed by both parties. But the parsons had the courts of law, the police, and red-coats to give weight and dignity to their arguments. The parsons even claimed that Adam was an advocate for the payment of tithes. They claimed the “divine right,” “invested rights,” and “legal and constitutional rights,” and above all, the right of the sword for the collection of their tithes. They claimed to have their warrant both from heaven and the courts for the collection of tithes, or dues, so called. They deemed it high treason not to obey the king and the parsons. But above all, they deemed it heresy to refuse the payment of tithes. Able and eloquent writers and speakers exhausted every variety of argument on the tithe question, both in prose and verse. From the pulpit and through the press, from the bench and bar, in private and public, it was the great topic of conversation, the sermon and the song. The following humorous emanation from the gifted pen of Tom Moore will give the reader an idea of the popular indignation against tithes and parsons:

SONG OF THE DEPARTING SPIRIT OF TITHES.

“The parting genius is with sighing sent.”—MILTON.

It is o’er, it is o’er, my reign is o’er ;
 I hear a voice, from shore to shore,
 From Dunfanaghy to Baltimore,
 And it saith, in sad, parsonic tone,
 Great Tithe and small are dead and gone !

Even now I behold your vanishing wings,
 Ye Tenths of all conceivable things,
 Which Adam first, as Doctors deem,
 Saw, in a sort of night-mare dream,

After the feast of fruit abhor'd—
 First indigestion on record !
 Ye decimate ducks, ye chosen chicks,
 Ye pigs which, though ye be Catholics,
 Or of Calvin's most select depraved,
 In the church must have your bacon saved ;—
 Ye fields, where Labor counts his sheaves,
 And, whatsoe'er *himself* believes,
 Must bow to the Establish'd *church belief*,
 That the tenth is always a *Protestant sheaf* ;—
 Ye calves, of which the man of *Heaven*
 Takes *Irish tithes*, one calf in *seven* ;
Ye tenths of rape, hemp, barley, flax,
Eggs, timber, milk, fish and bees-wax ;
 All things, in short, since earth's creation,
 Doomed, by the church's dispensation,
 To suffer eternal decimation—
 Leaving the *whole lay world*, since then,
 Reduced to nine parts *out of ten* ;
 Or—as we calculated *thefts and arsons*—
 Just *ten per cent.* the worse for parsons !

Alas, and is all this wise device
 For the saving of souls thus gone in a trice ?
 The whole put down in the simplest way,
 By the soul's resolving not to pay !
 And even the Papists, thankless race,
 Who have had so much the easiest case—
 To pay for our sermons, doom'd, 'tis true,
 But not condemned to *hear them*, too—
 (Our holy business being, 'tis known,
 With the ears of their barley, not their own,)

Even they object to let us pillage,
 By right divine, their tenth of tillage,
 And horror of horrors, even decline
 To find us in sacramental wine !

It is o'er, it is o'er, my reign is o'er,
 Ah, never shall rosy rector more,
 Like the shepherds of Israel, idly eat,
 And make of his flock a prey and meat.
 No more shall be his the pastoral sport,
 Of suing his flock in the Bishop's court,
 Through various steps, citation, libel—
Scriptures all, but not the Bible ;

Working the Law's whole apparatus,
 To get at a few pre-doom'd potatoes,
 And summoning all the powers of wig,
 To settle the fraction of a pig!—
 Till, parson, and all committed deep
 In the case of '*Shepherd versus Sheep*,'
 The law usurps the gospel's place,
 And, on Sundays, meeting face to face,
 While plaintiff's fills the preacher's station,
 Defendants form the congregation.

So lives he Mammon's priest, not Heaven's,
 For *tenths* thus all at *sixes* and *sevens*,
 Seeking what parsons love no less
 Than tragic poets—a good *distress*.
 Instead of studying St. Augustin,
 Gregory Nyass, or old St. Justin,
 (Books fit only to hoard dustin'),
 His reverence stints his evening reading
 To learn'd reports of Tithe proceedings,
 Sipping, the while, that port so ruddy,
 Which formed his only *ancient* study;—
 Port so old, you'd swear its tartar
 Was of the age of Justin Martyr,
 And, had he sipp'd of such, no doubt
 His martyrdom would have been—to gont.

Is all, then, lost?—Alas, too true—
 Ye *Tenths* beloved, adieu, adieu!
 My reign is o'er, my reign is o'er—
 Like old 'Thumb's ghost,' I can no more.

—Moore.

The Catholics of Ireland can now rejoice that "the tithes" are a thing of the past. It is but just that each church should be supported by its own members. The connection of church and State is now, in Ireland, abolished for ever.

In the midst of this great excitement O'Connell renewed the agitation for repeal. Pledged repealers were returned in several counties, eight of the O'Connell family among the number. Ireland had now forty members pledged for

repeal in 1833, notwithstanding the great effort made by the Castle party to defeat the repeal party, for even Lord Anglesey had taken the stump, and forgetting the dignity of his office, as the representative of Queen Victoria, made a tour through Ireland, during the campaign, like a "pot-house politician," and mere petty demagogue, using the patronage of the Castle and the government to defeat the repealers!

In 1833, Earl Grey introduced in the British parliament his infamous coercion bill, which gave the Lord Lieutenant power to suppress public meetings, if he deemed them *dangerous*, and to prosecute the members for a misdemeanor. This odious bill compelled all the inhabitants to remain in their houses from "sun-set to sun-rise," and that no meeting should be held without the consent of the Lord Lieutenant. It gave power to the police to enter any house by day or by night. That persons could be tried, hanged and quartered by a drum-head court martial. The writ of habeas corpus was suspended. This odious measure caused the downfall of the Whigs. This tyrannical, odious and iniquitous system of prosecuting and harassing the farmers to compel them to pay tithes, made both the parson and the "process server" detestable, even to this day.

Those who were only mere children then, will remember the great excitement of the time, when horns resounded from hill to hill to announce the coming of the parson, "process-server," and police to drive the farmers' cattle to pound! They will never regret the downfall of the British empire! Such is the magic power of a people struggling for liberty that the viper Lord Stanley, with his

red-coats, police and martial law, could not collect more than twelve thousand pounds a year for the parsons!

The poor parsons were thus starving. But the government gave them a gift of one million pounds. The government and the parsons despaired of collecting the tithes either by law or the bayonet. The parliament passed a bill abolishing one-fourth of the tithes, and making the other three-fourths a rent charge on the lands of the oppressed farmers to be collected by the landlords and their agents, to be paid to the parsons. When the farmer paid his rent the landlord or his agent first counted out of the farmer's pile the parson's tithes, and then made him pay the rent. Thus the parson's tithes was made the first lien on the lands of Ireland! Most just and merciful government! Thus, at that time, ended the great popular movement for the abolishment of the iniquitous tithes, which will never be forgotten by the Irish in America, who were eye-witnesses to the workings of this odious and oppressive system. We refrain from further comments, but hope that the day is not far distant when Ireland can say to England, we will take care of ourselves. When the glad news will reach us, from the other side of the Atlantic, "Ireland is free." God grant it!

CHAPTER XVI.

Though O'Connell and his repeal friends aided the English and Scotch to gain reform from the aristocracy, yet, when it was known, in England, that Ireland wanted twenty-five additional members of parliament and an ex-

tension of the franchise, it was opposed by the whole of the English press and people. This was gratitude. It was good enough for the O'Connell party to vote for reform for England. But Ireland should have no reform. Ireland should be kept in a state of servitude. The glorious friends and champions of British freedom would extend no reform to Ireland, but that of additional red-coats, police, and Stanley's arms acts, and coercion acts, martial laws, the gallows, and transportation. This was the only panacea that the humanity of the British government had for the wrongs of Ireland! Oh, yes, they armed the northern yeomen, appointed Tory Lord Lieutenants of counties, and despotic local magistrates to oppress the people. This was reform with a vengeance! The repeal press had assailed the injustice of the government. The Castle party resorted to all means for silencing the press. Mr. Barret of the Pilot became a victim to British misrule; he was prosecuted for merely republishing some letters of O'Connell's in the London True Sun. Barret was defended by O'Connell, who was thus able to make a repeal speech in the court of King's Bench.

In 1833, Fergus O'Connor gave notice in the House of Commons that all the conditions of the union were ruthlessly violated by the government of England. And O'Connell gave notice that he would at the next session introduce a bill for the "repeal of the union." In 1834, the great agitator made a noble effort to unite the Catholics and Protestants to petition for "repeal." The government in the mean-time used the purse, the sword, and offices to defeat the repealers. The minister introduced a resolution that the union between Great Britain and Ire-

land was "forever indissoluble." Such was the temper of the British government in 1834.

O'Connell now raised the cry of a reform of the House of Lords. He wanted to have the members of the House of Lords elected from the great body of the Peers of England, Ireland and Scotland. The aristocracy became alarmed and offered O'Connell a judgeship if he would keep silent, which the noble patriot spurned with disdain. In 1833 the Duke of Wellington said that O'Connell had "more power than any man in England!" In 1838 England was distressed by a stupendous financial crisis. This was the time to agitate, and O'Connell made the most of the opportunity to embarrass the Tory party of England and Ireland!

In 1840-2 the Chartists were prosecuted in England, which, with the financial crisis, increased the popular discontent. O'Connell having in vain endeavored to obtain a reform bill for Ireland, raised the standard of repeal with more vigor in 1840. He held monster meetings in the interior of Ireland; this, with the discontented Chartists and commercial embarrassments, harrassed the government. Stanley was defeated, and O'Connell held a meeting at the time-honored "Treaty Stone" of Limerick. Ireland was indeed formidable at this time, for her population numbered nearly nine millions of people.

CHAPTER XVII.

In 1841 the Irish reform bill was put in operation, and O'Connell was triumphantly elected Lord Mayor of Dublin. So England granted this boon in the hour of her difficulty.

In 1843, O'Connell, who was then a Dublin Alderman, under the new reform bill, gave notice that he would offer a petition for the repeal of the union; this alarmed the old ascendancy party, who had held a monopoly of the corporation, under the crown and bayonets of English despotism. This vile ascendancy would rather have Ireland a mere province, where they could hold a monopoly of the offices, than to have Ireland free, and the offices distributed among the people, as in America. Indeed, this is one of the greatest reasons why we find a party in Ireland so devoted to the English interest. They are vile politicians and placemen!

It was the practice of the Dublin corporation to petition parliament and the monarch on general subjects. The "blue boys" did not wish that the old English party should be made the medium of repeal agitators. In short, to turn the corporation of Dublin into a repeal association, they said that they would prefer "revolution, civil war, and extermination." Notwithstanding this fierce opposition by the ascendancy, O'Connell spoke on the memorable 1st of March, 1843. On this occasion he delivered one of his best speeches. It was the summing up of the great case of Ireland against the tyranny of the British government—its vast fraud, perfidy, usurpation, and injustice. Mr. Butt's reply was as harmless as it was feeble. O'Connell gained a decided triumph.

On this ever-memorable year 1843, O'Connell renewed the agitation for repeal. He held "monster meetings" in the interior of Ireland, for "repeal." He denounced the government for the great drain of the wealth of Ireland by absentee landlords, the grand jury tax, poor laws, and the abominable tithes, the corruption and bribery of the government, the ruin of trade, commerce, and manufactures, since the advent of the accursed union!

The great meeting of Clontarf was to be the greatest meeting ever held in Ireland. This meeting was to be held on "Conquer Hill." The spot is dear to the memory of Irishmen, as the sacred soil where Brian drove the Danes into the sea. The Peel government was determined to suppress this meeting. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland issued his proclamation on October 7th, 1843, for the suppression of this meeting. War vessels arrived in Dublin with military reinforcements. A war vessel anchored in the bay of Clontarf with its guns covering the intended place of meeting. A large military force of cavalry, infantry and artillery occupied "Conquer Hill." In the meantime O'Connell issued his proclamation to the people, announcing that the intended meeting would not be held. There is no doubt but the Peel government wished for an opportunity for the massacre of the unarmed people. The time will yet come when England's hirelings will meet Irishmen face to face, not unarmed, but with arms in their hands to avenge the insult, not only of Clontarf, but the vile massacre of Mullaghmast. Irishmen will not then forget the old "*treaty stone*" of Limerick!

CHAPTER XVIII.

On Monday the 9th of October, the Lord Lieutenant determined to arrest O'Connell and other leading repealers. The government forbid all its employees, even the teachers of national schools, from participating in the repeal movement. Repeal buttons became the rage, which gave great offense to the government and the ascendancy.

After the arrest of O'Connell, Smith O'Brien became a repealer. The State trials were both exciting and interesting. The humane government would give the prisoners but three days to put in an answer. They had recourse to the old scheme of "bribed judges and packed juries." For this purpose the crown officers abstracted 68 names from the jury panel, so as to exclude the Catholics and liberal Protestants from sitting on the State trials. The judges overruled the motion for amending the panel. And the State prisoners were forced to submit to be tried by a packed jury! Such is British law in Ireland; surely Irishmen cannot respect it!

The accusation against the state prisoners was, "a conspiracy to procure an alteration in the laws by intimidation, to bring the government and tribunals of the country into hatred and contempt, and to tamper with the allegiance of the army and others." The jury who tried O'Connell were, James Hamilton, Captain Edward Roper, Edward Clark, Francis Faulkner, John Croker, Henry Flynn, Henry Thompson, Anson Floyd, John Rigby, Robert Hanna, William Longfield, William Orr. Those men will always be remembered as vile traitors to their country. Let the finger of scorn be pointed towards their memory. The state prison-

ers were tried before this vile jury. Great talent was displayed by the counsel for the defence. The brutal Judge Pennefather on the 9th of February, 1844, charged the jury. He spent two days in making a fulsome speech, which was all on the side of the crown. He was both judge and advocate for the crown. This was a foul stain on British justice, if there is such a thing, when an Irishman is on trial before a bribed judge and a packed and perjured jury! This vile jury, after this charge, found a verdict of guilty. The event was hailed in England, by the London Times, with great joy, "That O'Connell was in prison!!" On the 30th of May, 1844, O'Connell was incarcerated in Richmond prison. The greatest excitement pervaded the minds of the people, as many thought that war would follow.

Thus we see that England, at all times, under royalists and Puritans, for centuries trampled on the forms and spirit of the law whenever she wanted to oppress Ireland. The government promoted, fostered and fed the anti-Irish colonial tyrants, thus dividing the people in order to keep them in servitude.

"She had proved by the experience of centuries, that when she had an object to achieve in Ireland, she had never been restrained by the punctilious dictates either of honor or humanity, and had never failed to take advantage of the feebleness of Ireland, to impose the grievous weight of her arbitrary restrictions; she had, at all periods, systematically encouraged the internal dissensions of the people, the better to humble them for the yoke which she had always been ready to place upon their country."—Barrington, page 62.

On April 15th, 1844, Mr. Whiteside had made a motion,

in vain, for a new trial. The learned counsel appealed to the House of Lords. On this memorable trial before the House of Lords, Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst said—"There was no disputing the facts; it was clear from the record that there was a fraudulent list; that the book was made up from that list, and that the panel was made out of that book. It was clear, also, that the recorder sent in a list, though not according to the directions of the statute, to the clerk of the peace; what was done with that list is not clear; it was not avowed that the recorder's list did not contain these names." Lord Denman said that the trial by jury in this case was "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare."

The judges of the House of Lords pronounced this vile indictment bad, and O'Connell was once more free!

In 1845 the repealers seceded from the British parliament to deliberate on Irish affairs in Conciliation Hall. O'Connell determined on calling the "Council of three hundred." He formed the "Eighty-two-Club." We will give here a comparison of the population of Ireland with that of the British colonies, while Ireland, with nearly nine million of inhabitants in 1845, had no parliament, yet nineteen British colonies had a domestic parliament, to-wit:

Lower Canada, population 678,590; Upper Canada, population 486,055; New Brunswick, population 156,142; Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, population 178,237; Prince Edward's Island, population 47,034; Newfoundland, population 75,094; Antigua, population 36,405; Barbadoes, population 122,198; Dominica, population 122,198; Grenada, population 18,291; Jamaica, population 377,433; Montserrat, population 7,119; Nevis, population 7,470; St. Kitts, population 21,578; St. Vincent, population 27,248; Tobago,

population 13,208 ; Tortola, population 8,500 ; Anguilla, population 2,934 ; Bahamas, population 25,244 ; Bermudas, population 9,930. This was the population of those colonies in 1820. Thus, while the people of Ireland, with their millions of inhabitants and millions of dollars, for to support the English government, are denied the right of a domestic parliament, yet the above colonies are allowed a parliament each, with two houses to transact business. Will Ireland submit to this? No; she will have separation or blood!

The following picture of the loss of the Irish Parliament is given by O'Connell: "There is, however, a more pressing view of this danger, which arises when we behold the present state of Ireland. She has no parliament of her own; there is little of interest, and less of sympathy, for the complaints of Ireland in that of England. What grievance has the imperial parliament redressed?—What inconvenience has it remedied? Let those who can, inform us when have our prayers been listened to? *The very remoteness of that parliament renders the sound of our complaints weak and inefficient.*"—O'Connell's speeches, vol. 2, pp. 22-3.

Unfortunately a rupture between O'Connell and his friends ended the repeal agitation, and O'Connell died broken hearted at Genoa. But the spirit of liberty did not die. We have a new generation of Irishmen, who have seen service in the United States, who will yet humble the pride of the English government.

I will here quote the words of one of Ireland's gifted sons, Dr. Cahill: "And when the returning tide rises and the breeze freshens, the old noble ship shall again set her

sails before the wind, and changing her name from repeal to National Equality, her fearless crew shall again shout for freedom, and, with some future O'Connell at the helm, she will, and shall again face the storm, and ride the swollen flood in pride and triumph."

Irishmen will not be satisfied with repeal; they want their ancient rights. We must and shall have nationality—We must have the green flag flaunting in triumph over every hill top in Ireland. Then we will have separation. Then can Emmett's epitaph be written. This should be the aim and object of every true Irishman. We can accomplish this by union, by opposing the English interest on this continent. And when the hour comes, which come it will, when England is involved in war, then to come down on her and whip her. The Lord will give an opportunity!

We make the following quotation from our gifted countryman, Dr. Cahill:

"How long, O Lord, wilt thou hold thy omnipotent scourge over Ireland, the most faithful nation of all the kingdoms that possess the Divine revelations from heaven? But till Providence is pleased to staunch the flowing blood of Ireland, and to heal her wounds, we, her persecuted sons, are bound to raise the cry of horror against our relentless oppressors; to keep up through each coming year and each century, the watchword of our sires for freedom, till the happy day of our deliverance. It is glorious to struggle for the redemption of one's country; it is base, tamely to submit to a tyrant's frown—liberty, and then death, is preferable to slavery and life. Oh! eternal liberty—inheritance of the soul!"

Let every Irishman adopt this noble spirit of liberty, and
Ireland will be free!

IRISH WAR-SONG—A. D. 1843.

AIR—*Minstrel Boy.*

I.

"Bright sun, before whose glorious ray,
Our Pagan fathers bent the knee;
Whose pillar-altars yet can say,
When time was young our sires were free—
Who saw'st our latter days' decree—
Our matron's tears—our patriot's gore;
We swear before high Heaven and thee,
The Saxon holds us slaves no more!

II.

"Our sun-burst on the Roman foe
Flashed vengeance once in foreign fields—
On Clontarf's plain lay scathed low
What power the sea-kings fierce could wield!
Benburb might say whose cloven shield,
'Neath bloody hoofs was trampled o'er;
And, by these memories high, we yield
Our limbs to Saxon chains no more!

III.

"The *clarscach* wild, whose trembling string
Had long the 'song of sorrow spoke,'
Shall bid the wild *Rosg-Catha* sing
The curse and crime of Saxon yoke.
And, by each heart his bondage broke—
Each exile's sigh on distant shore—
Each martyr 'neath the headsman's stroke—
The Saxon holds us slaves no more!

IV.

"Send the loud war-cry o'er the main—
Your sun-burst to the breezes spread!
That slogan rends the heaven in twain—
The earth reels back beneath your tread!
Ye Saxon despots, hear, and dread—
The march o'er patriot hearts is o'er—
That shout hath told—that tramp hath said,
Our country's sons are slaves no more!"

—*Spirit of the Nation.*

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ABSENTEE LANDLORDS OF IRELAND. THE WEALTH OF IRELAND
SPENT IN ENGLAND.

Whiteboys—Tithes—Proctors—Despotic landlords—English policy—Catholic emancipation—Ejectments—Tithes—Famine—Tenants at will—Tithes commuted—Surplus population—Encumbered estates—Devon commission.

The tyrannical landlords of Ireland, who hold their vast estates by no better title than that of conquest, plunder, murder, and wholesale confiscation, whether they derive their pretended title from Normans, Williamites, or Cromwellians, they look on the English interest in Ireland as paramount to that of Ireland. They look to England for protection, freedom, greatness, prosperity and happiness. They have always preferred their darling monopoly to the welfare of their country. They call themselves English gentry. They claim that their interests are hostile to what they call, in derision, the old savage Irish. Their ancestors took special pride in calling themselves "*English gentlemen born here.*" Even as far back as 1690, the despotic landlords had doubled their "rent-rolls." They put the screws on the farmers, so as to get the greater part of the profits of the farms. For this purpose they let their lands for a short term of years, so that they could raise the rents at pleasure, and have the farmers completely under their control. If the tenants did not submit to their dictation, they could throw them out on the wayside. Those despots were careful not to allow their tenants anything for the labor and money expended in improving the farms.

“I should imagine that the permanent absentees ought to see the policy (if no better motive can influence them) of appropriating liberally some part of these splendid revenues which they draw from this country—which pay no land-tax or poor rate, and of which not a shilling is expended in this country! Is it not high time for these permanent absentees to offer some assistance, originating from themselves, out of their private purses, towards improving and ameliorating the condition of the lower orders of the peasantry upon their great domains, and rendering their lives more comfortable. * * But I say that the permanent absentees ought to know that it is their interest to contribute everything in their power, and within the sphere of their extensive influence, towards the improvement of the country from whence they derive such ample revenue and solid benefits. Instead of doing so, how do many of them act? They often depute their manager upon the grand jury of the county.

“This manager gets his jobs done without question or interruption; his roads, and his bridges, and his park walls—all are conceded.

“For my part, I am wholly at a loss to conceive how those permanent absentees can reconcile it to their feelings or their interest, to remain silent spectators of such a state of things, or how they can forbear to raise their voices in behalf of their unhappy country, and *attempt to open the eyes of our English neighbors, who, generally speaking, know about as much of the Irish as they do of the Hindoos*. Does a visitor come to Ireland to compile a book of travels? What is his course? He is handed about from one country gentleman to another, all interested in con-

cealing from him the true state of the country; he *passes from squire to squire*, each rivaling the other in entertaining their guest—all *busy in pouring falsehoods into his ears touching the distracted state of the country and the vicious habits of the people.*

“Such is the crusade of information while the English traveler sets forward, and he returns *to his country with all his unfortunate prejudices doubled and confirmed, in a kind of moral despair of the welfare of such a wicked race, having made up his mind that nothing ought to be done for this lawless and degraded country.* And, indeed, such an extravagant excess have *those intolerant opinions* of the state of Ireland attained, that I shall not be surprised to hear of some political projector coming forward and renovating the obsolete ignorance and the prejudices of a Harrington, who, in his ‘Oceana,’ calls the people of Ireland an untameable race, declaring that they ought to be exterminated, and the country colonized by Jews; that thus the state of this island would be bettered, and the commerce of England extended and improved.”—O’Connell’s speeches, vol. 1, pp. 433–4.

This discouraged industry and put the tenants under the absolute power and despotism of the landlords. The vile tyranny of the landlords drove the people to seek justice in midnight assemblies. The following is from John Mitchel:

“We have seen by the statements of Mr. J. Hely Hutchinson, that in the last year of King George II., ‘the lower classes of the people wanted food.’ The financial distress soon made matters still worse, and almost immediately after the accession of the new king, the whole island began to be startled by formidable rumors of disturbances and

tumults in the South. The immediate cause of the first breaking out of these disorders was that many landlords, in Munster, began to inclose commons, on which their rack-rented tenants had, up to that time, enjoyed the right of commonage as some compensation for the extreme severity of the terms on which they held their farms. The enclosure of these commons took away from them the only means they had of lightening their burden and making their hard tenure supportable. In Waterford, in Cork, and in Tipperary, angry crowds assembled, tore down the inclosures, and sometimes maltreated the workmen employed in putting them up: The aggrieved peasantry soon combined their operations, associated together by secret oaths, and these confederates began to be known as Whiteboys. A second cause for the discontents which soon swelled the society of Whiteboys, was the cruel exactions of the tithe proctors, persons who farmed the tithes of a parish rector, and screwed the utmost farthing out of the parishioners, often selling out their crops, their stock, even their beds, to make up the subsidy for clergymen whose ministrations they never attended. Resistance, therefore, to tithes, and the occasional amputation of a tithe proctor's ears, formed a large part of the proceedings of the Whiteboys."—Mitchel, page 89.

The farmers had no protection from the government, for the landlords held all the offices under the so-called Irish government, the farmers having no rights which the landlords were bound to respect—the farmers were compelled to pay their part of the burdens of the English government. This, with the payment of tithes and church-rates compelled the people to fall back on the law of nature for a re-

dress of grievances, and hence the Whiteboys and Rockites banded together to protect the farmers in the south of Ireland from the despotism of the landlords, agents and bailiffs.

“The bitter distress of the people of Munster, occasioned by rack-rents, by the merciless exaction of the established clergy and their tithe-proctors, and by the inclosure of commons, had gone on increasing and growing more intense from the year 1760, until despair and misery drove the people into secret associations, and in 1762, as we have seen, the Whiteboys had in some places broken out into unconnected riots to pull down the fences that inclosed their commons, or to resist the collection of church-rates. These disturbances were greatly exaggerated in the reports made to the government by the neighboring Protestant proprietors, squires of the Cromwellian blood, who represented that wretched Jacquerie as nothing less than a Popish rebellion, instigated by France, supported by French money, and designed to bring in the Pretender.”—Mitchel, page 99.

In short, all those local disturbances in Ireland can be traced to the despotism of the Irish landlords and the tithe-hunters. Even the Attorney General, Fitzgibbon, told the government that the tenants were so ground as not to be able to pay their rents.

“There were indeed local disturbances, as in the first days of Whiteboyism, provoked solely by the tithe-devouring clergymen and by the intolerable oppressions of the landlords; but in no way partaking of an insurrectionary organization, nor directed to revolutionary ends. Mr. Fitzgibbon, then Attorney General, told parliament some mar-

vellous tales. He blamed the landlords as the chief cause of the disturbances ; and said that he knew that the unhappy tenantry were ground to powder by relentless landlords. He knew that far from being able to give the clergy their just dues, they had not food or raiment for themselves ; the landlords grasped the whole, and sorry was he to add, that not satisfied with the present extortion, some landlords had been so base as to instigate the insurgents to rob the clergy of their tithes, not in order to alleviate the distresses of the tenantry, but that they might add the clergy's share to the cruel rack-rents already paid. It would require the utmost ability of parliament to come to the root of these evils."—Mitchel, p. 178.

After the passage of the Catholic emancipation act, the tyrannical landlords, that vile agency of the British government, were so exasperated against the farmers for voting for O'Connell, that they "broke their leases," when they had an opportunity, and drove them for the rent. The landlords would ask the farmers, who had voted for O'Connell, "did O'Connell give you the rent?" The oppression of the farmers about this time showed the wanton despotism of the rack-renting landlords, their agents, and bailiffs. Indeed, when any measure is carried against the government, the cry is raised in England of the alarming crime in Ireland, and the English government sends additional troops into the country, the better to oppress the people, the habeas corpus act is suspended, and martial law inaugurated, together with the employment of spies, castlehacks, and letter spies!

"Landlords were refusing to make new leases of farms, and were breaking the existing leases where they could,

having no longer the motive for rearing up a small freehold population for the hustings. The chairman for the quarter-sessions, and the sheriffs and bailiffs, were busy with their ejectments; and pauperism began extensively to prevail.

“The seasons, indeed, had been for some time rather favorable, and the grain and cattle were abundant; but the British system had now been so well established in our island, that all this wealth of bounteous nature flowed off instantly to England, and the prices of it also. All went the same way. The export of agricultural produce to England out of Ireland, had grown so enormous within the past few years, that it had been judged expedient in 1826, to place that trade on the footing of a coasting trade, in other words, no custom-house accounts were to be kept of it; and the amount of it was concealed for many years. In that year, 1826, however, the exports to England had been to the value of almost eight millions in corn and cattle. It was but small benefit to the Irish people to have favorable seasons and plenteous harvests; their wealth not only made itself wings and flew to England, but as tenancy-at-will now became *the fashion*, landlords increased rents in proportion to increased produce; and then went to England—the country of political action and fashionable life, to spend those improved rents.”—Mitchel, p. 511.

The popular indignation of the people of Ireland caused by the oppression of the tithe hunters became so alarming, that the government was now determined to do something to pacify the people by a show of justice; but in reality they did not mean that the rich parsons should be deprived of their tithes—their study being the more effect-

ally to secure to the parson his tithes. The following is from John Mitchel :

“ Throughout the parliamentary discussions on these questions, there does not appear to have been the slightest intention on the part of either party to relieve Ireland from the burden of the established church; all their anxiety was how to insure to the clergy their income out of the pockets of the people in some way which it would be impossible to resist or evade. On the other hand, O’Connell declared in parliament, ‘ the Irish people are determined to get rid of the tithes, and get rid of them they will. ’ ”— Mitchel, p. 516.

The absentee landlords now had completed their system of draining Ireland by the system of rack-rents, and by spending their vast incomes in foreign lands. They wanted their rents, but they did not want what they called the “ surplus ” population. And we may here remark that those colonial task-masters and their ancestors most ruthlessly exterminated or oppressed the people of Ireland by either death or plunder. In the days of the task-masters and tyrants of the pale, for a mere Irishman to have property, generally proved his ruin. Now, in modern times, when society has invented new names for hideous crimes, the Irish are robbed under the milder name of rents :

“ The Irish who have offended, live they ever so honest afterwards, if they grow into wealth, are sure to be cut off by one indirect way or other. In one of her Majesty’s civil shires there lived an Irishman peaceably and quietly as a good subject, many years together, whereby he grew into great wealth; which his landlord thirsting after, entered into practice with the sheriff of the shire to despatch this

simple man and divide his goods between them. Whereupon they sent one of his own servants for him, and he coming with him, they presently *took the man and hanged him*; and, keeping the master a prisoner, they went immediately to his dwelling and shared his substance, which was of great value, between them, turning his wife and many children to begging. After they had kept him (the master) fast for a season with the sheriff, they carried him to the Castle of Dublin, where he lay by the space of two or three terms; and he having no matter of guilt against him whereupon to be tried by the law, they, by their credit and countenance, being both English gentlemen, and he who was the landlord the chiefest man in the shire, informed the lord deputy so hardly of him, as that without indictment or trial they executed him, to the great scandal of her Majesty's estate, and the impeachment of her laws."

"But, notwithstanding statistics, the notorious truth was, that England was becoming always richer, and her people more luxurious in the style of living, while Ireland was fast sinking into destitution. The Irish rents spent by absentee proprietors now amounted to more than four millions. Manufactures in Ireland, (with the simple exception of linen,) no longer existed. Extermination of tenantry, (or as the people were now always termed—surplus population,) had increased to a dreadful extent; and those who had means to emigrate were flying from the country in wild terror. A writer in Blackwood's magazine for January, 1833—the writer being no other than Sir Archibald Alison—states that the emigration in 1831 from Ireland amounted to eighteen thousand. The writer adds: "No rea-

son can be assigned why it should not be one hundred and eighty thousand! From this time the leading idea of English statesmen and economists was to devise some way of getting rid of the surplus people.”—Mitchel, p. 518.

Hence the government devised every plan for getting rid of the population, by transportation to foreign lands or by murdering them by famine—famine, in Ireland, is one of the British institutions of the country. Yet Ireland had to pay for the extravagance of the English government, even for the money which Pitt used to steal away the Parliament and Irish nationality. The landlords would do nothing to relieve the distress of the farmers, during the direful famine of 1846, 7, 8, 9. They would not abate the rents, but put on the screws to grind the people, who were out of employment in many parts of the country. The Dublin Evening Mail says:—“There is not a laborer employed in the county, (Limerick,) except on public works; and there is every prospect of the lands remaining untilled and unsown for the next year.”

Had the avaricious landlords relieved the tenants by a judicious system of raising and falling the rents according as the tenants could pay, the people would not have suffered by famine, in a land of bounteous harvests, but they exacted their pound of flesh and the last drop of blood! The consequence was, that thousands of farms were laid waste. The lands brought no rent, and thousands of the aristocracy lost their estates under the encumbered estate law, passed in 1849. Thus providence punished those merciless tyrants, who would not do justice to the farmers, but ground them to powder. The ancestors of those tyrants wanted to send the old Irish to “hell or to Connaught;” their offspring

wanted to send them to New Zealand, under the infamous Devon commission! Cromwell made use of the term, "to hell or to Connaught," because he was so exasperated at the valor of the brave people of that province, whom he could not conquer. Hence his indignation.

"There has now been laid before the reader a complete sketch, at least in outline, of the British famine policy—expectation of government spoon-feeding at the point of police bayonets—shaking the farmers loose from their lands, employing them for a time on strictly useless public works—then disgorging them in crowds of one hundred thousand at a time, to beg, or rob, or perish—then, out-door relief, administered in quantities altogether infinitesimal in proportion to the need—then that universal ejectment, the quarter-acre law—then the corruption of the middle class, by holding out the prize of ten thousand new government situations—then the vagrancy act, to make criminals of all houseless wanderers—then the voluntary emigration schemes—then the omnipresent police, hanging like a cloud over the houses of all suspected persons—that is, all persons who still kept a house over their heads—then the quarantine regulations, and increased fare for *deck* passengers to England, thus debarring the doomed race from all escape at that side, and leaving them the sole alternative, America or the grave."—Mitchel, page 573.

The people complained loudly of the injustice of the landlords, agents and bailiffs, who ground down the people by rack-rents, so that the aristocratic absentees could live in splendor in London. These complaints were construed by the government as resistance to the laws. The cry of atrocious crime in Ireland was raised by the English press.

Ireland was cursed by the suspension of the habeas corpus act; the enactment of arms acts and coercion acts. Ireland asked for bread but got a serpent. The following is from John Mitchel:

“New regiments were poured into Ireland, of course; and Dublin held an army of ten thousand men, infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers. The barracks accommodation being insufficient, many large buildings were taken as temporary barracks; the deserted palaces of the Irish aristocracy—as Aldborough House on the north-east, the deserted halls of manufactures and trades in ‘The Liberty’ and the Linen Hall, were occupied by detachments. The Bank of Ireland—our old Parliament House—had cannon mounted over the entablatures of its stately Ionic colonnades; and the vast and splendid Custom Houses, not being now needed for trade, (our imports being all from the ‘sister country,’ and our exports all to the same,) was quite commodious as barracks and arsenal. The quiet quadrangles of Trinity College were the scene of daily parades; and the loyal board of that institution gave up the wing which commands Westmoreland street, College street, and Dame street, to be occupied by troops. Superb squadrons of hussars, of lancers, and of dragoons, rode continually through and around the city; infantry practiced platoon-firing in the squares; heavy guns, strongly guarded, were forever rolling along the pavement; and parties of horse artillery showed all mankind how quickly and dexterously they could wheel and aim, and load and fire at the crossings of the streets. These military demonstrations, and the courts of ‘law,’ constituted the open and avowed powers and agencies of the ‘* ——’ But there

was a secret and subterranean machinery. The editor of the *World* was now on full pay, and on terms of close intimacy at the Castle and vice regal Lodge. His paper was gratuitously furnished to all hotels and public houses by means of secret service money. Dublin swarmed with detectives; they went at night to get their instructions at the Castle, from Colonel Brown, head of the police department."—Mitchel, p. 580.

This is a fair picture of landlords and English misrule in Ireland.

As we have already said, the sole policy of the landlords has been to grind down the farmers by raising the rents. If the farmers were making money by their industry and skill, their avaricious landlord raised the rents! Were it not for the greedy and cruel landlords and packed juries and bribed judges, Ireland would be free. The landlords are the vile tools of the crafty English government. They are indeed the curse of Ireland. The absentee landlords and their agents and bailiffs control the judges, sheriffs and juries and justices of the peace of Ireland. Take this power from the absentees and Ireland will be free. No wonder that O'Connell should condemn this system of despotism—and strike at the power of the landlords. Let this be the aim and object of Irishmen at home and abroad. Let us, when an opportunity occurs, abolish this vile system of landlordism in Ireland. Let us sever the link which binds Ireland to England. Let us watch and pray, and providence in due time will give us an opportunity to overthrow the power of England in Ireland.

The landlords of Ireland have no other title to the estates than that of possession. The rightful owners can, if

able, retake their property from these usurpers and tyrants. It will not do to compromise with those servile tools of British despotism. We must strike for the freedom and independence of Ireland. Then will come the great year of jubilee, when every man gets his own. The Williamite and Cromwellian usurpers must yield up their ill-gotten possessions to the rightful owners!

CHAPTER XX.

TENANTS' RIGHTS. WHO FEEDS ENGLAND. THE DESPOTISM OF THE LANDLORDS OF IRELAND.

England's prosperity has proved the downfall of Ireland—Concessions of 1782—Prosperity of Ireland under a local parliament—Pitt's promises violated—The traitor Castle-reagh—Ruin of Irish commerce and manufactures—Taxation—Workingmen out of employment—The Irish compelled to emigrate—Absentees—Agents—Cruel landlords—Ireland a grazing farm for England—Tithes—Church-rates—Tyrannical landlords—Orangemen—Persecution—The press—Irishmen in the English army and navy—Irish representatives in the British parliament—Meetings dispersed—Landlords protected by the government—Penal colonies—Secret societies—Tariff—The ruin of Irish manufactures—Irish woolen manufactures destroyed—Milesians and Normans owned nineteen-twentieths of the lands of Ireland before the act of settlement—Irish beef—Ormond—King William—Queen Anne—Penal laws—Ireland forced to give her food for the products of English looms—Volunteers of 1782—Free trade—The union—Famine—Loss of the Irish parliament—Agitation for the repeal of the union—O'Connell—Repeal agitation in 1843-4—Irish produce—National debt of England—England has not food for three months—Famine—Tyranny of Lord Russell—Irish farmers ruined—British soldiers take away Irish crops to England—Midnight legislation

—But one fourth of Ireland under cultivation—Landlords—Farmers were not paid for their improvements—Remains of the feudal system—The justice of revenge—Houses pulled down—Tobacco crop.

It has been said by the immortal O'Connell, that England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity; and that the prosperity of England gives strength to the anti-Irish party. While the British lion terrified the nations of the earth, the contemptible, slanderous and malignant Orange faction oppressed the people of Ireland. In the days of British prosperity the columns of the British press circulated in the vilest manner the most dastardly lies, foul misrepresentations and gross calumnies against the people of Ireland. In 1782, when the combined hostile fleets were masters of the British channel—when invasion was threatened, the Irish, after years of division, discord, religious rancor, distrust, jealousy, bigotry, and persecution, rallied around the standard of the immortal Grattan, whose epitaph is written in the hearts of his countrymen, and obtained concessions from proud and perfidious Albion! From 1782 to 1801, under a free parliament, Ireland flourished in importance and in wealth, her manufactures flourished, which provoked the jealousy, avarice, and national bigotry of Pitt and his minions, who planned the accursed union. For this purpose he played off Catholic against Protestant—he promised the people of Ireland equal rights before the law—that Ireland would share the same prosperity as England and Scotland. That no other oath would be required of the Catholics but the oath of allegiance—that the three kingdoms would be united as one nation. That the wealth, power and prosperity of the one would be

the wealth, power and prosperity of the other. That the Catholics would get the full benefit of the "treaty of Limerick!" Pitt found, as before mentioned, a most willing and subtle instrument in the traitor Castlereagh. These vile, unprincipled, dishonest, perfidious and mean politicians, by bribery and villany, by trafficking the ermine of the judge; the miter of the bishop; by the vile corruption of the fountain of justice and the sanctuary of religion; by putting Englishmen on the King's bench; by returning Englishmen and Scotchmen from the "rotten boroughs," they stole away the parliament from College Green. And Ireland from being a proud nation, became a province. Manufactures and trade decayed; artificers starved; merchants became bankrupt; credit and commerce were annihilated, and taxation increased. Ireland blessed with a fertile soil and traversed by navigable rivers; her many commodious harbors situated by nature for commerce with the nations of the earth, yet her people suffered from unjust laws, for since the union nine-tenths of the working men were out of employment. They are either compelled to cultivate a small patch of ground at an exorbitant rent, or to go annually to England to harvest—Irish factories being demolished at home by bad laws. The country was drained of her resources by absentees. Their vile and oppressive agents get a per centage for collecting rents, and for this reason they squeeze to death the poor farmers. Industry is not encouraged, and indulgence for misfortune never finds an emotion in the cold bosoms of the hard-hearted landlords or their vile and avaricious agents. Those mean oppressors and tyrannical despots heeded not the complaints of the tenants. They wanted funds for the

prodigal absentee landlords, to spend in England. Besides, they wanted to get rich themselves by extortion and tyranny.

Thus, the wealth and produce of Ireland is squandered by absentees in dissipation in England. If this was spent at home, Ireland would be prosperous. Had her soil been properly cultivated and agriculture encouraged, the poor would not be driven to excess, and the perpetration of crime and agrarian murders, in self defence, would be less frequent.

But alas! Ireland has been oppressed by mean and avaricious rack-renters, by tithes, (for the collection of which the local magistrates could issue a warrant to collect the growing crops) church-rates, poor-rates, and a vile host of greedy, avaricious and tyrannical landlords!

Instead of giving the Catholics equal rights and justice, as promised by Pitt, the English government encouraged the ascendancy party—they promoted Orange judges, Orange grand juries, and Orange monopolies, as well as Orange sheriffs. Men who had neither eloquence, talent, patriotism or knowledge have been appointed to fill the highest stations, merely for their bigotry, fanaticism and their persecution of the people. Ireland, though possessing the richest soil and finest and greenest land in the world, has suffered from poverty and misery, in consequence of English barbarism! What has Ireland got from England in lieu of her parliament? She has got Orange riots, Orange officials—the press trampled upon and prosecuted by bribed and perjured judges and attorneys-general, sheriffs and packed juries, for merely criticising the conduct of public men. She has got a suspension of the ha-

beas corpus act. She has got insurrection bills—stipendiary magistrates and armed police!

“The British parliament might as well pass a perpetual coercion act for Ireland at once, and take away altogether the writ of habeas corpus; but such a measure as this would be supposed to be too abhorrent to the spirit of the British constitution. The coercion acts, therefore, are all proposed for a limited time, and hope is regularly expressed by the member of the government who introduces one of them, that the time is approaching when these ‘exceptional’ measures will be no longer needful to the good government and well being of Ireland.”—Mitchel, p. 517.

This accursed union was a mere delusion. For though the Irish furnished three-fourths of the army and navy—out of an army of 100,000 seamen, which England had, in 1800, 70,000 were Irishmen—yet the Catholics were excluded from every office of trust, honor, and emolument! Ireland got but one hundred representatives in the British parliament, while England, Wales and Scotland had 558, which left Ireland in a very deplorable minority under the hoof of an English parliament. Indeed, England violated every promise and treaty, made in the hour of her weakness, whenever it suited her interest, in the hour of her pride and power! Again, we say that Irishmen were doomed to perpetual exclusion in their native land, as alien enemies in the land of their forefathers. Peaceable meetings were dispersed by the bayonet, and it was made penal to hold meetings in the open air.

The English government never listened to the complaints of Ireland, in the hour of prosperity; never yielded anything but with bad grace, either through fear or policy!

While the great Napoleon was triumphant in Europe, the British Cabinet conciliated Ireland; but after the fall of the great man, oppression was resumed. While the eagles of the great captain triumphed over the nations of Europe, the Irish farmers got high prices for their produce; but after 1815 prices fell, but the greedy landlords and their oppressive agents did not lower the rents; nor did the parson abate his tithes or church-rates. Taxation even increased. This system ground down the poor hard working agricultural classes, filling the country with distress! They complained to the government in vain. For be it known to the world that when England was prosperous and her armies victorious she protects the hard-hearted and bigoted Irish landlords. The avaricious and exterminating Tory landlords are the favorites of the castle—they are the main strength of the anti-Irish faction, who by transportation and extermination have banished the people of Ireland, in great multitudes, to the four winds of heaven. Oh! how many of the noble Irish have been sent to penal colonies by the despotism and tyranny of the merciless and despotic landlords.

This despotism has been the cause of the various secret societies in Ireland, for as we have shown, the Irish had no other redress but that of revenge! "Revenge on a tyrant is sweetest of all!"

In the hour of English security from foreign trouble, when she is at peace with the world, on the least provocation, she proclaims martial law—the usual and darling remedy for the pacification of Ireland! The counties of Tipperary, Clare and Limerick have often been proclaimed under martial law, for the mere killing of a tithe-proctor!

“It is here well worthy of reflection; that the exercise of free quarters and martial law, the suspension of all municipal courts of justice, the discretionary application of the torture to suspected persons, executions in cold blood, and the various measures which Mountjoy and Carew, and other officers of Elizabeth practiced in Ireland by her authority in 1598-9 were again judged to be expedient, and were again resorted to with vigor, in the years 1798-9, two hundred years after they had been practiced by the ministers of Elizabeth.”—Barrington, 212-13.

Another source of the misgovernment of Ireland is, that nearly the whole of Ireland, prior to 1849, was owned by a few absentee landlords—that is, a few aristocrats. Those absentees drew out of Ireland their rents in the nature of food, to be consumed in England! Their bailiffs, agents, and attorneys collected the rents, (which was Irish food for British markets) for which Ireland did not receive one shilling, as all the rents of the greedy “absentee landlords” were spent in England! The cupidity of the English rulers laid duties on imports and exports, save the raw produce, which was to be carried in British ships, which was called the “coasting trade!” Another monstrous evil was the consolidation of the treasury. That is, the English treasury, like Aaron’s rod, swallowed up the Irish treasury! We will here go back before the time of the union to show that at all times and in all places the English government wanted to ruin the resources of Ireland!

In the reign of Charles the First, the domineering, avaricious, ambitious, and perfidious Lord Wentworth destroyed the woolen manufactures of Ireland. The English manufacturers were jealous of the prosperity of the Irish manu-

facturers, who could undersell the English traders in foreign markets. For this purpose he imposed such restraints on Irish woollen goods as amounted to complete annihilation. He was anxious to discourage every species of manufactures in Ireland, as would compete with English manufactures and trade. Such was the infamous policy of the despotic, haughty and obnoxious Lord. But it was some consolation for the Irish to behold the downfall of the imperious tyrant! Before the act of settlement, the Milesian and Norman settlers owned nineteen-twentieths of the lands of Ireland. By the infamous act of settlement, they were robbed, and their lands given either to the "undertakers" or the Cromwellians. Thus many of the most noble Irish families were reduced to beggary.

Such was the jealousy of the English monopolists, that the English parliament passed an act against the importation of Irish cattle into the English market. Such was, at that time, the party hate in England towards anything Irish, that the importation of beef, pork and butter were forbidden to enter English soil, but they have since changed their minds; at least in the years of Irish famine!

However we may condemn the policy of Ormond, however we may blame him for his duplicity, no matter how we may censure his ambition, avarice, cunning, and time-serving policy, we must give him credit for his noble efforts to encourage Irish manufactures. He erected, at Clonmel, factories for the manufacture of worsted stockings and "Norwick stuffs." He also encouraged the manufacture of linen. He imported skillful mechanics from England and the Low Countries, and from Jersey and France. But this laudable policy of Ormond, to encourage Irish manu-

factures, aroused the jealousy of England. Ormond was recalled and a person unfavorable to Irish interests put at the head of the Irish government. Such was the English policy in the reign of Charles II.

We have often said that the Irish behold with sadness, that the greatness and prosperity of England caused the poverty of Ireland! We repeat that the monopoly of trade has been always the favorite scheme of all English statesmen—to enrich England and to oppress dear but unfortunate Ireland. The English nobleman, the English trader; Royalist and Puritan, one and all, were the foes of Irish industry. It appeared that England knew of no other system of government for Ireland but by impoverishing her and breaking down the spirit of the people. They considered the prosperity of Ireland the downfall of England. When the glory of England was at its zenith—when English statesmen and warriors made England famous on the continent of Europe, Ireland suffered most from her persecutors. King William, of “immortal memory,” annihilated the woollen manufactures in Ireland, which was very prosperous before the reign of Charles I. In 1698, the commons of England addressed the King of “immortal memory” thus:

“That being very sensible, the wealth and power of England do, in a great measure, depend on the preserving of the woollen manufacture, as much as possible, to this realm, they thought that it become them, like their ancestors, to be jealous of the establishment and increase thereof elsewhere; and to use their utmost endeavors to prevent it. They could not, without pain, observe that Ireland, which is dependent on and protected by England (what an impu-

dent mockery!) in the enjoyment of all she has, and which is so proper for the linen manufacture, the establishment and growth of which would be so enriching to themselves and so profitable to England, should of late apply itself to the woolen manufacture; to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom, and so unwillingly promote the linen trade, which would benefit both nations. That the consequence thereof would necessitate his Majesty's parliament of England to interpose to prevent the mischief, unless his Majesty "*of immortal memory*," by his authority and great wisdom, should find means to secure the trade of England by making his subjects of Ireland preserve the joint interest of both kingdoms; wherefore they implored his Majesty's protection and favor in this matter, and that he would make it his royal care, and enjoin all those he employed in Ireland to use their utmost endeavors to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland (except it be imported hither,) and for discouraging the woolen manufactures and encouraging the linen manufactures, to which the commons of England should always be ready to give their utmost assistance."—Lawless, vol. 2, pp. 302-3.

What an example of England's kindness and protection to Ireland. Yet people wonder why the Irish are not satisfied with the old government of England. How strange that even enlightened Irishmen are so much under the influence of partisan blindness as to drink to the memory of this man, who thus impoverished their country. When will party rancor yield to the true interest and common welfare of the country. When will Irishmen unite and banish the demon of discord, which leaves them at the mercy of their ancient oppressors!

We will show another instance of the kindness of England and her fostering protection towards Ireland :

“ Queen Anne introduced her ferocious system of government in Ireland, by an act which went to expel the inhabitants of Ireland from the lands of their fathers. She enacted, that no Catholic should have the power of purchasing any of the forfeited lands ; and that all leases which might have been made of such lands, shall be annulled, except those leases which might have been made to the poor cottagers of two acres ; thus giving to the Irish such privileges as might best secure their vassalage to their task-masters. ‘ A law so barbarous,’ says Mr. O’Connor, ‘ has no parallel in the records of nations ;’ yet the genius of the ‘ good Queen Anne ’ could surpass the barbarity, as we shall see hereafter. No lapse of time could purge the Catholic of the hideous crime of fidelity to his religion, and attachment to his country. Never could he have power, by honorable labors of industry, of recovering those lands which were forfeited by the intemperate spirit of his fathers. He should consent to abandon every principle of honor and morality, before he could be qualified to be received into the bosom of the glorious constitution. * * * The bill above mentioned, so celebrated for its infamy, went to the total expulsion of the Catholics from any right of property in land. It disabled them from purchasing either lands or tenements, or taking by inheritance, devise, or gift, any lands in the hands of protestants ; making all estates which they might then hold, descendable by gavel kind, except in the case of the conformity of the eldest son, rendering the father a mere tenant for life, depriving him of the power of alienating,

mortgaging, or encumbering, even for the support or the advancement of younger children, except under the control and discretion of the chancellor."—Lawless, vol. 2, pp. 320-1.

This is the love of the "good Queen Anne" for Ireland. Yet we have Irishmen drinking to the memory of "good Queen Anne." Oh! when will Irishmen merge the partisan in the patriot! By the perfidious system of unjust laws, the manufacture of woolen, silk, &c., was annihilated. Ireland was forced to give her food for the products of the English "*spinning jennies*," to enrich England. The wealth of England, as before mentioned, became the bane of Irish industry. For the industry of Ireland was crippled from the date of the penal laws until the era of Ireland's prosperity, from 1782 to 1800. This prosperity was won by the volunteers and Irish statesmen demanding their rights—when they told England that Ireland should no longer be the vassal of any nation. They demanded "free trade." Ireland flourished under the blessings of "*free trade*," wrung from England in the hour of her weakness, in 1782, when the Irish volunteers were stronger than the whole military force of England.

We will here quote from Barrington, how Ireland prospered under the blessings of a free parliament:

"From that day Ireland rose in wealth, in trade, and in manufactures, agriculture, and every branch of industry that could enhance her value or render a people rich and prosperous. She had acquired her seat amongst the nations of the world, she had asserted her independence against the insolence of Portugal, she had suggested an Irish navy to protect her shores, she had declared a per-

petual league of mutual amity and aid with Great Britain. The court of her Viceroy appeared as splendid as her monarchs. Her nobles resided and expended their great fortunes amongst the Irish people, the commons all resided on their own demesnes, supported and fostered a laborious and tranquil tenantry. The peace of the country was perfect, no standing army, no militia, no police were wanting for its preservation; the activity of the volunteers had suppressed crime in every district, religious prejudices were gradually diminishing; every means of amelioration were in contemplation or in progress. The distinctness of Ireland had been proclaimed to the world by overt acts of herself, and of her monarch and the King of England. The Irish sceptre in the hands of her King had touched the charter of her independence, on the faith of nations, before God and man its eternal freedom had been declared, and should have been inviolable. But by some inscrutable will of Heaven, it was decreed that she should soon be again erased from the list of nations, punished without a crime, and laid prostrate at the feet of a jealous ally."—Barrington, pp. 330–31.

Ireland from the time that the shackles were stricken from her limbs, when she obtained "free trade," rose in wealth and importance. Her commerce was prosperous, her agriculture and manufactures flourished. Her landlords spent their rents in their own country. The aristocracy had their city residences in Dublin, where they spent a great part of their vast incomes. They encouraged improvements on their estates. They enriched the merchants, tradesmen, and farmers; but after the union these vast sums of money were spent out of the country, and the

resident aristocracy went to England, where they spent their money. The absentee landlords left in Ireland their attorneys, agents and bailiffs to collect their rents, and to wield a despotic power over a down-trodden people. They did not encourage industry, manufactures or agriculture, but put the screws on the people to squeeze the last pound from them, causing periodical famines. For be it remembered that in the years of the famine of 1817-18, Ireland exported more breadstuffs than was exported by the United States in 1850!

CHAPTER XXI.

While the great Napoleon was victorious the Irish got high prices for their produce. The landlords raised the rents. After the battle of Waterloo "prices came down," and Ireland suffered; and a general panic pervaded the whole country. The landlords demanded the same rents that they were getting when "prices were high." The farmers were ruined, and with them the nation! The people felt the loss of their parliament and local legislation. They suffered from the evils of centralization of power.

As before mentioned, O'Connell commenced the agitation for the "repeal of the union," as the only means of relief for Ireland; as the means of reviving her agriculture, commerce and manufactures, her wealth, power and prosperity. O'Connell was well calculated to lead the Irish, for he possessed noble qualities of both head and heart, unbounded patriotism, a mighty intellect, a comprehensive and philosophical mind, and a wonderful retention of mem-

ory,—he possessed an ample fund of legal lore, he had the wisdom of a Solon and a Solomon; the integrity of a Brutus, and the eloquence of a Demosthenes and a Cicero. He was temperate in his habits, without austerity, and religious without bigotry; his life was an unbroken chain of consistency; he was the personification of a true patriot; he understood human nature; he was the friend of the oppressed everywhere; his life was spent in the cause of freedom and his country. He struck at (what was considered at that time) the root of Irish misrule. He demanded a “repeal of the union.” An Irish parliament in College Green. The people were aroused, and England had resort to the old plan, “divide and conquer.” By his mighty eloquence and patriotism he united the Irish people in 1843–4. The “repeal” agitation intimidated the English government. Had there been such an opportunity then as in 1782, he could have sprung such a revolution as would have ended the Hiberno-British empire. But unfortunately a rupture between O’Connell and some of the leading “repealers” ended the “repeal agitation,” and O’Connell died broken hearted in foreign climes! But his spirit did not die. This spirit of agitation will never rest until Ireland is free from the chains and bondage of England. But the future agitation will be from the cannon’s mouth. For a new generation has sprung up since the time of O’Connell, that will not be satisfied with anything short of the freedom and independence of the “green isle of the ocean!”

CHAPTER XXII.

The people know that all their misery, woe and banishment were the evil consequences of British parliamentary usurpation. We will here make a few extracts from McCulloch's Geographical Dictionary, edited in New York, title, "Ireland," which shows that there was exported from Ireland to pay absentee landlords, and other tribute, in wheat, wheat flour, barley, bere, oats, oat meal, rye, peas, beans, and malt:

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| For the year 1801, | - | - | - | - | 525 |
| " " " 1817, | - | - | - | - | 695,651 |
| " " " 1818, | - | - | - | - | 1,204,733 |
| " " " 1820, | - | - | - | - | 1,415,722 |
| " " " 1825, | - | - | - | - | 2,203,962 |
| " " " 1832, | - | - | - | - | 3,000,000 |
| " " " 1838, | - | - | - | - | 3,474,302 |

EXPORTS FROM IRELAND TO ENGLAND.

| | | |
|------------------------------|---------|---------|
| | 1825. | 1835. |
| Cows and oxen, | 63,524 | 98,150 |
| Horses, | 3,140 | 4,655 |
| Sheep, | 72,191 | 125,452 |
| Swine, | 65,919 | 376,191 |
| Provisions, beans, per cwt., | 599,124 | 473,111 |
| Beef and pork, | 604,253 | 370,597 |
| Butter, | 474,161 | 827,009 |
| Lard, | 35,261 | 70,267 |

Ireland has paid in consequence of the loss of her parliament, in fifty years, the round sum of two thousand two hundred and fifty millions of dollars to absentee landlords and the *power-looms and spinning jennies* of England!

Now, as McCulloch does not give any returns of Irish exports subsequent to 1838, the following table is taken from the American Whig Review for 1850 :

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE, IRELAND, 1849.

| | Acres. | Quarters. | |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| Wheat, | 743,871 | 2,926,733 | £ 7,316,832 |
| Oats, | 2,200,870 | 11,521,606 | 13,249,846 |
| Barley, | 283,587 | 1,379,029 | 2,758,058 |
| Bere, | 49,068 | 274,016 | 411,024 |
| Rye, | 12,415 | 64,694 | 126,180 |
| Beans, | 23,760 | 84,456 | 211,140 |
| | | Tons. | |
| Potatoes, | 284,216 | 2,048,934 | 8,606,523 |
| Turnips, | 370,344 | 5,760,616 | |
| Mangle Wortzle, | 13,766 | 247,269 | 3,841,100 |
| Others, | 59,512 | 720,064 | 892,688 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | 727,738 | 8,785,144 | £ 6,570,957 |
| Hay, | 1,138,946 | 1,866,684 | |
| Flax, | 58,312 | 58,312 | |
| “ cut, | 389,872 | | |
| | <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| Total acres, | 5,338,575 | | £44,958,120 |

Now, we see that in the year of the Irish famine, there was exported from Ireland to England food enough to support twelve millions of people!! And yet one million of the people died for want of that food which was forcibly taken away to pay rent to absentee landlords. Had O'Connell been at the head of an Irish parliament in *College Green*, three millions of the Irish would not have been cut off by famine and involuntary exile. So much for the curse of parliamentary usurpation and centralization. No

wonder, to have an Irish famine, when an island a little larger than the State of Maine would give away, in the nature of tribute, food enough to feed sixteen millions of souls, in 1847!!!

“Thus fares the land, by luxury betray’d;
In nature’s simplest charms at first array’d:
But verging to decline, its splendors rise,
Its vistas strike, its palaces surprise;
While, scourged by famine from the smiling land
The mournful peasant leads his humble band;
And while he sinks, without one arm to save,
The country blooms—a garden and a grave.”

It has been estimated by very eminent scientific gentlemen, that if Ireland had been well cultivated, and her commerce, manufactures and agriculture properly developed, she could maintain forty millions of inhabitants!! For there is not more than one-fourth of the whole island under cultivation, the remainder being mountains, commons, and lands enclosed as pasture grounds for the sole use of the aristocracy!

Another source of evil, (in consequence of the accursed union, already referred to,) is that Ireland has to bear her share of the national debt of England. For every twenty shillings she pays in taxes, twelve shillings of it goes to pay the interest on the national debt of England. So Ireland has to pay for her own subjugation—for the millions spent to destroy her nationality—for hireling soldiers and for the corruption funds used to steal away her parliament, and for to pay an army of spies and castle-hacks! Oh! such is the blessing of the union, which Englishmen would fain make the world believe is a blessing to the Irish. Such is the civilization which England has inflicted on Ireland! This is the connection which Ireland wants to sever.

A connection which has entailed on Ireland every species of woe, misery, transportation and famine!

England, in her unholy system to rob Ireland, as well as to impose on the world; to maintain the balance of power and to overawe the nations of the earth, has the audacity and cunning to make her own people, as well as those who admire the British constitution and British ascendancy, believe that England can subsist without the aid of foreign nations or foreign food! Her statesmen tell the world, in flaunting and lying tones, that England could live independently of the world, if a wall of fire or brass encompassed her shores! That the only losers would be the world, thus cut off from the, so called, cradle of liberty. That the world would relapse into barbarism and be otherwise enveloped in the mists and darkness of the middle ages were it not for the light of English civilization, religion, piety, wealth, and cotton goods. For this purpose false tables have been made of exports and imports. All produce brought into England from Scotland, Wales, Ireland, the United States, Canada and other countries, have been set down as English produce—the parliament of England by this imposture makes the deluded people of England believe that come what may, she can raise food enough to feed her soldiers and working-men, when in fact she does not raise food enough to support her population for three months, in any year. Should her “*wooden walls*” fail to protect her coast—should she get whipped at sea, as she may, even by a combination of naval forces, she would find herself in the same woeful and forlorn predicament of a garrison or a besieged town, with her supplies cut off. She would be starved into submission, She would have to

lower her flag to any naval power that could intercept her commerce, and her island inhabitants would be reduced to famine.

Dr. Cahill, in his famous letter to Lord John Russell, stating the misrule of Ireland, utters the following words: "Alas! alas! where shall I begin to tell your political career, as regards poor, down-trodden, faithful, persecuted Ireland? Nor is it with ink and paper I would attempt the description of the woes of your rule. No, no, my Lord; the deserted village, the waste land, the unfrequented chapel, the silent glen, the pale face, and the mournful national voice, stamped the history of Ireland with deep, deep impression of your administration, while the ferocity of the unbridled landlord, and the terrors of the uprooted and mouldering cabin, and the cries of the houseless orphan, and the tears of the broken-hearted widow, and the emigrant ship, and the putrid work-house, and red oozing pit of coffinless and shroudless dead—these, these, oh! all these, are all the thrilling and eloquent witnesses, to publish to coming generations, and to unborn Irishmen, the character and the laws of the Russell cabinet! Ah, sir, when you read the terrific facts of the mother living on the putrid remains of her own child; and when you saw the awful account of several corpses of dead bodies of the poor Irish being exposed for days in unburied putridity, and devoured by dogs in this unheard of state; and when you had heard the cries that were wafted across the channel for help, and those that rose to heaven for mercy, from Skibbereen, from Ballinasloe, from Kilrush, and from Ballinrobe—has your heart, sir, ever smote you with remorse, that you heard these cries of Ireland with a pitiless com-

posure, and sent to starving and dying millions, a heartless pittance from your overflowing treasury?"—Dr. Cahill, pp. 227-8.

Oh! let the government of England tremble, for God is just. Let the government remember that though the Lord may suffer the multitudinous sins of a nation to escape punishment for a season, sooner or later he will punish the guilty nations. And as a nation cannot be punished in the next world, as a nation, she will be punished in this. Such has been the doom of all nations, ancient and modern. We say again to the government of England, remember that God is just!

CHAPTER XXIII.

The English government caused millions of Irishmen to perish by famine in 1847-8-9, when at the same time Ireland was robbed of three times more food than was raised in those years in the United States! And this in the years of famine! This famine was not as England had told the world, a visitation of providence as much as systematic robbery! But we are told that the potatoe crop had failed in those years of famine; but it must be remembered that the potatoe crop was not more than a mere fraction when compared with the agricultural crop in the years 1846-7-8-9. For, from its perishable quality, it was not an article of commerce. For the cereal crop was ample to support double the population of Ireland, if left in the country. But the greedy landlords had to get their rents in food, to be taken to England to feed England! The avaricious and

oppressive landlords had to be paid both rent and arrears. Lord John Russell told the landlords to insist on their legal rights, which then amounted, in many instances, to five years rent, which had to be paid in food. The English forces in Ireland were at the disposal of the landlords and their tyrannical agents, who were the magistrates.

The English holders of mortgages on Irish estates were directed by the English government to force their claims. English creditors claimed their money, and the bank of England ordered the bank of Ireland, the same being under her control, to renew "no bills or give no bills on any terms." By this means thousands of the honest and industrious farmers, merchants, traders and mechanics, who, until now, passed for wealthy, were ruined.

The landlords drove the people—that is, by the aid of hireling soldiers, they took the stock and grain from the farms and had it taken out of the country to English markets.

The majority of those landlords were Englishmen, who got their rents from their agents in Ireland and spent it in England. So the English had both the Irish food and their money!

Regiments of soldiers, with the hireling police, in many instances actually cut the crop and had it taken on board of steamboats and sent to England; so of the live stock. And all this was done at the behest of Lord John Russell! We find on the authority of the *London Times*, that twenty steamers per day arrived in the English ports, "laden with produce," from the shores of Ireland. Yet the Irish perished by famine! It so happened that while the Irish perished for want of food, the storehouses of England were

bursting with the food taken from Ireland by British soldiers !

But to fill up the cup of British infamy, the very food sent to Ireland by the United States was taken by the landlords to be distributed. They compelled the people to work cutting down mountains and making roads for the special use and benefit of the landlords ; and only gave them a small pittance of this very same food which was so generously sent to Ireland by the benevolent people of the United States ! In many instances the landlords and their followers used this very same food themselves, and left the poor to die by the way-side ; more than a million of people who found a living on farms, were driven from their homes by the lawless landlords to seek for work, perish or emigrate ! English spendthrifts and half-pay officers got their living out of this very same food sent by generous and hospitable America to Ireland. The landlords, as before mentioned, had their lands improved by compelling the poor to work for this food which was the benevolent gift of the people of the United States, under the spurious plea that they could not have food on any other terms. Can we wonder at " midnight legislation " when we hear that the people, who have suffered more persecution than any other people in the world, should visit their persecutors with ample and terrible punishment ! Let the reader answer ! This is the blessing of landlordism. The cause of Irish woes of every nature. We must pull down this despotic system of legalized plunder ! We have stated that little more than one-fourth of Ireland is cultivated. What room is there for the development of the resources of Ireland, and for improving the lands that now bear no fruit. If Ireland had

been governed by wise laws—if the estates of the aristocracy were broken up—the commons, bogs, and mountains could be made very valuable and fertile lands for agriculture—if the tenants were protected by law—if their rights and improvements were secured by competent legislation. Had the thousands in Ireland who have no lands to cultivate of their own, been allowed, under a judicious system of tenure, to cultivate and improve the lands that are now a mere waste, they would increase the wealth and food of Ireland. Had they long leases and compensation for their improvements, the very mountains of Ireland could be cultivated to their very summits. The Irish, who have to work in the manufacturing towns of England, Wales and Scotland, would, under a local parliament and laws for the protection and improvement of the soil, have comfortable homes in their own country, tilling the lands which now under English misrule is a mere waste. Then they would not have to cultivate the soil in strange lands. Irishmen would not be dispersed in every clime from the north pole to the south pole, and from the rising to the setting sun!

But the landlords give little or no encouragement to their tenants. For in such instances, when the landlords of the last century gave their tenants long leases of unimproved wild lands, with promises that they should never be disturbed, as long as they paid their rent, the landlords of to-day, in this age of civilization, when the tenants, whose fathers improved these lands, are unfortunate enough to have their leases expire, notwithstanding said promises, those greedy landlords will not let those lands again on any other terms but from year to year, and then only at very exorbitant rents. This is done so that the tyrannical

landlords would always have the tenants at their mercy. That they could, when they felt so disposed, remove them with a mere "*notice to quit*." Then if the tenants do not do everything to please them, the landlords have it in their power to dispossess them. They can even levy on their tenants a fine at will. The tenants in such cases are under the despotic control of their tyrannical landlords. We copy the following from the *Dublin Nation* :

"The Irish landlord's only notion of a peasant is a payer of rent; his only notion of government as the squanderer of grants. When the cottiers can pay no rent, he turns them out to die; and when ministers will give no more money, he turns round and blackguards them."

Thus, for instance, if the tenants do not follow the dictation of the landlords and vote for them or for their candidates, they are thrown out of their homes, which sheltered them and their forefathers for generations—their houses pulled down and the homeless occupants made to seek shelter under the broad canopy of heaven. The unfortunate tenants are thrown on the world to die or seek a home in other climes! To make this despotism more galling, the inhuman landlords pay not one cent for the improvements. But the lands which the poor tenants and their forefathers improved are converted to raising fat cattle to be eaten in England! This vile system must be changed. The farmers who make valuable improvements must be paid for the same. Then, the lands that are now wild and profitless, will be made the homes of the toiling millions. Until that is done, and the tenants have some interest in the lands they improve—until they are made independent of the tyrannical landlords and their minions,

spies and bailiffs, so long will England find Irishmen unwilling subjects.

We will place before our readers the following sad picture of the wrongs, grievances, cruelties, and mal-government of Ireland and the despotism of the Irish landlords, from the pen of an eminent and standard authority. This author, Dr. Cahill, in depicting the wrongs and mal-government of Ireland, speaks in the following glowing, eloquent and forcible language, thus :

“The history of other countries is learned from the cool pen of the historian, but that of Ireland is learned from the crimsoned tombs of the dead. The history of other nations is collected from the growing population and successful commerce, but the sad story of Ireland is gathered from the deserted village, the crowded poor-house, and the mournful swelling canvas of the emigrant ship. (Loud cheers.) You gave me too much credit for those slender productions of mine, and perhaps you are not aware that it was on the graves of the starved and shroudless victims of English misrule I stood when I indited the epistles. I dated them from the grave pits of Sligo, and the fever sheds of Skibbereen. If I seemed to weep, it was because I followed to the coffinless tombs tens of thousands of my poor, persecuted fellow-countrymen; and if my descriptions appeared tinged with red, it was because I dipped my pen in their fresh bleeding graves, in order to give suitable coloring to the terrific page on which a cruel fate has traced the destinies of Ireland.”—Dr. Cahill's Works, pages 46-7.

Dr. Cahill, in giving an epitome of the history of Ireland

since the English first set their polluted feet upon sainted Ireland, speaks thus:

“Therefore, I begin with the years 1172-7, when Henry II. conquered Ireland through the dissension and treachery of our own countrymen; and from this time down to 1570, for nearly four hundred years, there was continued struggling between England and Ireland; and during these four hundred years, they could never conquer Ireland—never able to pass Leinster, so that three other provinces were never conquered. And in these times the most barbarous cruelties were practiced on the people. * * Amongst other instances, he would mention that the English soldiers were not allowed to deal with us—not to spread even what civilization they might boast. Never were the conquered treated with greater cruelty than from the reign of Henry II. to that of Henry VIII. The execution of Clare he would allude to, when the British soldiers outraged the wives and daughters of the Irish before their faces, and shot them, or tossed them over the rocks if they complained. Five hundred lashes was the penalty if a British soldier married an Irish girl.”—Dr. Cahill, p. 155.

Now, I ask, what agriculture could have been successfully pursued in a country like ours, which during the four hundred years we have now in view, was a scene of perpetual struggles between the oppressing conqueror and the poor conquered? How could commerce be entered into, while the enemy's camp was at their gates, and they were nearly all occupied in repelling the invaders? Every honest Englishman will bear me out in these conclusions. In England, at the very time commerce was beginning, the crusades had begun, and all their opening and kindling in-

fluences of chivalry. During these four hundred years England was cultivating learning and the arts and sciences, with the most important characteristic combination amongst themselves, while poor Ireland was learning war, and feeling its fury, which made it a theatre of animosity and dissension. * * Whose fault was it that our country was so wretched? Was it the fault of the Irish? * * *

“The conquerors took every acre of land, as the law said: ‘An Irishman must only have an acre of arable land, and half an acre of bog.’ The laws of Elizabeth were levelled against the three most important things in a nation’s welfare—property, education, and the religion of the people. * * During the seventy years we have now in review, persecution raged to the greatest extent; and Elizabeth contemplated the entire subjugation of Ireland. About the end of her reign, by dint of the cruelest warfare, and the banishment of 70,000 Irish, she subjugated that country, leaving behind her the most withering, burning destruction and heart-rending cruelty that have ever been recorded against any nation.

“Look now at the position of your poor country—no agriculture, no commerce. * * ”—Dr. Cahill, pp. 156–7.

(“Our parliament gone in 1801.) They succeeded, by spending four and a half millions, and have left Ireland without a parliament from that day to this. Our parliament gone in 1801, what more did England do? She took away our linen trade, by putting a duty upon it; she discouraged our trade, beggared our commerce, and made that verdant, beautiful island a desert. Yes, it was the Irish landlords sold our birth-right, and by the treacherous landlords’ conduct has come upon us the greatest curse Ire-

land has ever sustained. Between the years 1793 and 1815 land rose cent per cent in Ireland; provisions rose in equal proportion; the wealthy left it; clothes became dearer, and the young men entered the army; so that the Irish could live no longer in their own country; they had to leave Ireland, come to England and go abroad."—Dr. Cahill, pp. 167-8.

Let England do justice to Ireland, while there is an opportunity for redressing the wrongs of the people. For the day is not far distant when Irishmen will tell England that they will rule themselves—that they will not submit to any law under heaven but that of their own country alone. That they will not submit to the hirelings of British despotism! Day is breaking. Let England remember that the victims of landlordism will speak music from the cannon's mouth. That Irish misrule will be redressed by the Irish of America! We may call them what we may, there is a power in America that will, when an opportunity favors, sever English connection. They will give such a blow as will redress the wrongs of the homeless tenants of Carlow, where whole families have been driven from their homes by the sheriffs, bailiffs, and the viperous police, without time to partake of a dinner; and forced to take shelter in the open air, or in ditches and sheds. Yet the London Times speaks of the Irish agrarian outrages. This barbarous and feudal system of vile tyranny must be ended. The millions of the sons of toil must no longer depend on the will of the feudal landlords and their perfidious and barbarous despotism. The wise and patriotic maxim, *salus populi suprema est lex*, will be our motto. The tenants must be no longer at the mercy of the crow-bar brigade.

They must not be evicted at the whim and caprice of a tyrant. Their right to live on the land must be recognized by law. Homesteads for a fair rent, and not to be raised whenever the landlords so will it. The day of feudal aristocracy is at an end; and the principles of equality are gaining ground all over the world. Kings and lords are made for the people and not the people for them. Napoleon III. understood this when he granted a general amnesty to all political offenders. This was noble on the part of the French Emperor. Let England do likewise in future!

Such is the system of the vile and oppressive landlords, that in Tipperary the farmers are driven to seek the "wild justice of revenge"—provoked by despair and oppression. Heart rending oppression and iniquitous cruelty imposed on the farmers has incited the national indignation of an outraged people. When they see day by day the law perverted for the benefit of the landlords, the honest industry of the people trampled upon and their homes pulled down over their heads, and themselves thrown upon the world, and the landlords reaping the fruits of their toil, what wonder if in their agonized, excited and suffering condition, they should fly to avenge their wrongs, with just retribution on the heads of their oppressors—when they see their homes made waste by the dire curse of cruel eviction laws—when they behold their country converted into a howling wilderness. The abominable extermination of the people by tyrannical landlords has filled the minds of the people with dismay and indignation. What wonder, then, that we should have "*agrarian crime*," and execration of landlords, and loud and deep complaints against the whole iniquitous misgovernment of Ireland. But

what relief do the people get from England—what protection from the cruelties of tyrannical landlords? Extra police for Tipperary!!

We shall here show the vile spirit of English despotism, which would not even let the Irish raise their own tobacco, but they must smoke tobacco which pays a heavy duty, to go into the pockets of the English government. We will here show that this spirit has not been of modern invention; for in 1661, the first year after the restoration, an act was passed, 11 Car. 11, Ch. 34, by the parliament of England, prohibiting the growth of tobacco in Ireland. This remnant of the penal laws is on the statute book of England!

This is protection for Irishmen. Oh! England, the pride of the world!! the day of retribution is coming; the day when landlordism will be abolished, when Ireland will be able to break her chains, and the sun-burst, like a brilliant luminary, will shine forth with refulgent splendor after seven centuries of darkness. This should be the hope, aim, and object of every true hearted and patriotic Irishman. Why should the Irishmen of America abandon the land of their birth? For no earthly honors in this country; no amount of wealth should satisfy the ambition of Irishmen, while their dear old country groans under the iron rod of despotism. We should feel for the woes, wrongs, and grievances of our countrymen on the other side of the Atlantic. We should encourage every noble effort of Irishmen to burst the iron chain which connects Ireland to England. Certainly we may encourage, for the present, "tenant rights," but we should never forget that nothing will secure the liberty of Ireland short of the freedom and independence and eternal separation from England!

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE FENIAN ORGANIZATION. FENIANISM—ITS RESULTS. FENIAN
HEROES AND MARTYRS.

The Fenian organization—Fenianism—Its results—Fenian heroes and martyrs—Phoenix Society—O'Donovan—The organization in Munster—Government spies—Arrests—Indictments—Members of the Society found guilty—Packed juries—"The Irish People"—The editors sentenced to penal servitude—Tyrannical landlords—British misrule in Ireland—Bad laws—Confiscation of Irish estates—Desmond—Ormond—Normans and Saxons—Danish settlements—Ben. Butler and spoons—Cromwellians—Tread-mill and "Croppy hole"—Rack-renters—Avaricious agents—Tithes and church-rates—Wexford rebellion—Irish in America—'48 Emmett monument association—Fenian organization—Their principles—Fenian Congress—John O'Mahony—Fenian Constitution—Fenian Congress—Fenian address—Second National Fenian Convention—Fenian raid into Canada—Penal code—Henry VIII.—English laws—Irish Americans—Public opinion in the United States—O'Mahony and Roberts' branches—Fenians divided—The Fenian raid into Canada prevented by the United States—London Times—The Fenian organization all over the world—The Irish in England—English Tory Lords—Clerkenwell prison explosion—Disestablishment of the Irish church—Death of the tithes—"No Popery cry"—Fenians in Tipperary—Packed juries—Irish Fenians found guilty—English law—Anglo-Saxons—English cruelties to Fenians—Fenians starved in British prisons—Ireland fought for England—British press—National schools—National school books—English policy—Landlords—Leases—Irish Americans—Landlords in 1844—Extermination of Irishmen—Irish famine—Cromwell's slaughter house—British House of Commons—Irishmen to be sent to New Zealand—Irish famine—Irish in the United States—Jackson—New Orleans—Irish famine—Lord John Russell—Surplus population—British despotism—Lord Russell found guilty of willful murder—Spirit of liberty gaining ground in Ireland—British dungeons.

In 1857, the Phoenix Society was formed by O'Donovan and Moynahan, in the county of Cork. This society spread through the counties of Cork and Kerry. The organizers drilled and organized the society on a military basis. This society did not escape the lynx-eyed spies of the government. An additional force was sent to the districts where the society drilled and held meetings. The discussions in the newspapers only tended to increase the excitement and give more importance to the society. In December, 1858, several arrests were made by the authorities. Bills of indictment were found against the most prominent leaders, Moynahan, O'Shea, Sullivan, McCarthy, and O'Donovan (Rossa). The first victim of the society was Sullivan, who was found guilty by a packed jury. All the "Phoenix men" were released but O'Donovan, Moynahan, and O'Shea. After eight months, O'Donovan and O'Shea were set free by the government.

O'Donovan became one of the proprietors of the "*Irish People*." He was arrested in 1865, tried by a packed jury, and sentenced to penal servitude for life. We will go back now to the organization of the Fenian Society in the United States.

The victims of tyrannical landlords, who had to leave the hills of their youth, in consequence of the ruthless despotism of the Irish landlords, and the oppression of the English government, British misrule and penal laws—laws, like those of Draco, written in blood and executed in vengeance. Yes, English laws, which were one thing for the rich and another for the poor. The English laws in Ireland, since the time of Henry II., were tyrannical and offensive. Those laws were luxury to the rich, but death and oppres-

sion to the poor. Should Irishmen respect the laws of England? Should Irishmen rejoice over the power, wealth and prosperity of England? No, never, for that prosperity, wealth and power, in Ireland, was established on the tears, moans and sighs of widows and orphans; the bones of the brave and the blood of warriors; the wholesale and vile banishment of the people, evictions, and transportation; the convict-ship and the penal colonies; martial law and the rack; the dungeon and the gallows; the "tread-mill" and the "crotty hole;" robbery and midnight conflagration, murder, torture, famine, pestilence, and all manner of persecution which a wicked and tyrannical government could wield and invent.

This, together with wholesale confiscation of estates under the colonial tyrants, the "undertakers" and the Cromwellians in former times, and the despotism of landlords in this age, has made Ireland one of the most oppressed countries in the world. For the British government and the colonial tyrants of the pale, in the reign of Elizabeth, incited rebellion in Ireland as a pretext for getting Irish estates. This may be seen from the answer given by Elizabeth to those who made complaint against Tyrone:

"Be not dismayed," said the queen; "tell my friends, if he arise, it will turn to their advantage; there will be estates for them who want; from me he must expect no further favor."

Yes, the object of all of the wars against the Irish was to give estates to the greedy invaders of Ireland. During the reign of this queen, Mountjoy desolated the fair fields of Munster with fire and sword; so that even Englishmen represented to the queen that she had nothing in Munster

to rule over but ashes. Such was the desolation of Ireland under the tyrant Mountjoy, that even Elizabeth exclaimed:

“Ah! how I fear, least it be objected to us, as it was to Tiberius, by Bato, concerning the Dalmatian commotions: ‘You, you it is that are in fault, who have committed your flocks, not to shepherds but to wolves.’” Indeed, this may be said of all the British rulers of Ireland, since the time of Henry II. to the present time. Had Ireland a milder and more just government she would be as prosperous and happy as any country in the world. For the Irish are a law-loving people. They are firmly attached to the constitution of the United States, and would die to defend it. No people in the world love liberty, justice, and equality more than the Irish in the United States.

For as we have already shown that the great object of the invaders under Normans and Cromwellians, was to get Irish estates, we can prove this from standard and reliable authority.

One of Ireland’s gifted and eminent historians, furnishes the following evidence, which shows that the object of the colonial tyrants, one and all, from the first to the end of the chapter of plunderers, was to get the lands of the old Irish and then to reduce the old inhabitants to the condition of day laborers. All the laws of the pale had this object in view. In modern times the vile herd of landlords in Ireland, their attorneys, agents and spies, have followed the vile and heartless example of their forefathers. For if the tenants were making a fair living by hard work—if they had expended the fruits of the soil and their labor to improve their farms, the landlords were certain to raise the rents.

The following from MacGeoghegan shows how Ireland was robbed in the reign of the good queen Bess of blessed memory :

"The estates of Desmond being thus disposed of, circulars were sent into the counties of England to invite the youngest sons of families to come and take possession of other estates that were confiscated. One of the conditions was, that they should hold them in fief, at three pence per acre, in the counties of Limerick, Connillo and Kinry, and at two pence in those of Cork and Waterford, and that no Irishman should be suffered to reside on them."—MacGeoghegan, p. 492.

As further proofs and illustrations of the despotism of those times, we insert the following :

"John Desmond fell into the snares of the reformers ; and Ormond had the honor of ending the scene by the death of this chieftain, the fifteenth earl of his family. His extensive estates, whose revenue exceeded, at that time, four hundred thousand crowns, * * were divided among the English who supported the war against him, and particularly the Earl of Ormond, who had a large share in the spoils."—Id., p. 487.

Of course the cunning and perfidious Ormond had a large share in the spoils. Yes, the Ormond family managed to keep on the strong side during the many Irish rebellions. They were either Royalists or Puritans, as best suited the times. They aided Charles or Cromwell, as the fortunes of war dictated to their selfishness. In this way the Ormond family managed to hold their vast estates in Kilkenny and Tipperary. This is one of the prime reasons that the Cromwellians and Saxons did not take root in Kil-

kenny and Tipperary. That is the reason that the inhabitants of those two counties are principally of Milesian and Norman extraction. For from the inland situation of those counties the Danes did not make settlements in them. The Danish settlements were confined to the sea coast. The Ormond family has made a record in Irish history which will brand them with infamy forever. They were always the instruments of the English government. They were indeed the vilest of the colonial task-masters of the pale. What wonder then that Ben. Butler should have made himself infamous, in the United States, as a rotten branch from the old Ormond tree. He was a loud-mouthed Democrat when the Democrats had possession of the spoils of office. He voted for Jeff Davis in the Charleston convention. He did all in his power to break up the Charleston convention. But when the war broke out, then he saw that the Republicans would, for some time, in consequence of the war power, have all the offices in the United States, civil and military, Federal and State, even down to the county, town, and ward offices. And as Ben. Butler wanted to follow the example of the Ormond aristocracy in following the strongest party, he left the old Democratic ship and sailed in a Republican craft for New Orleans, and made himself rich by "lifting things" great and small, even down to a spoon. If Jeff Davis had been victorious, Ben. Butler would be very glad to become his tool and servant. He would join any party having the spoils of office. So much for the Ormond tyrants of the pale.

The English adventurers divided the Irish estates among their followers; hence, as we have said, the followers of Elizabeth or Cromwell have no right to their vast estates

in Ireland but that of conquest and plunder. MacGeoghegan speaks of the acts of confiscation as follows:

* * "By a similar act, the estates of Thomas Fitzgerald, Knight of the Glynn, in the county of Limerick, and his son Thomas, were confiscated for their rebellion."—*Id.*, p. 472.

Again, we will give another instance of confiscations under the workings of Cromwell's slaughter-house. By these iniquitous proceedings the Irish were robbed of their vast estates and driven beyond the Shannon—were forced to exile themselves to foreign countries. Many of the doomed race who are now working on the railroads in the United States are the rightful owners of those vast estates now in the hands of the vile and despotic Cromwellians.

"Cromwell's soldiers were the next to receive rewards; the tyrant was, it is true, deeply indebted to them, since, with the assistance of their brethren in England, they had raised him from obscurity to absolute power over the three kingdoms. His gratitude was equal to their zeal; he divided twelve entire counties between these fanatics, the cruel ministers of his tyranny."

The English government and the vile castle party put the people of Ireland under the hateful dominion of the landlords, the viperous rack-renters and avaricious agents and bailiffs. There was another source of oppression to the toiling millions of the country, that of tithes and church-rates, together with a mountain of taxation, which filled up the cup of human woe and misery. From this vile oppression, many Irishmen left the scenes of their youth to seek homes in the wilds of America. Yet, while in foreign lands, they did not forget British despotism and the hateful cruel-

ties of the landlords, their agents and bailiffs! The Irish emigrants sighed for the long wished for opportunity to revenge the wrongs of centuries on the vile oppressors of Ireland! They wish to revenge '98 and '48.

Though we have already given, in another place, the history of the cruelties of the government and the colonial aristocracy, we will give a few extracts from truthful historians.

The cruelties of Wexford will never be forgotten by the Irish in all climes, at all times and in all places, until Ireland is free. Let the government of England then do justice to Ireland while there is time for doing justice to the most oppressed of nations. No government in the world can be always secure from foreign wars. England should remember the fate of other nations that have oppressed nations—that sooner or later that nation fell from the height of power and greatness. The following will show the sufferings of Ireland in 1798:

We will give what John Mitchel says of the despotism of the ascendancy, and of their mode of driving the people into rebellion, in 1798:

“The infamous Hunter Gowan now sighed for an opportunity to vent his ferocious propensity of murdering his Catholic neighbors in cold blood. When the yeomanry corps was first formed, he was not considered sufficiently respectable to be charged with the command of one; but in consequence of the proclamation of martial law, he soon obtained a commission of the peace and was created a captain, and was commissioned to raise a cavalry corps; in a short time he succeeded in getting about thirty or forty low Orangemen, badly mounted; but they soon procured

better horses, at the expense of the farmers, who were plundered without redress. This corps went by the name of the black mob; their first campaign was, to arrest all the Catholic blacksmiths, and to burn their houses. Poor William Butler, James Haydon, and Dalton, smiths whom we employed to shoe our horses and to do other work, for many years before, were condemned to be transported, according to the recent law enacted, that magistrates upon their own authority could sentence to transportation. But the monster Hunter Gowan, thinking this kind of punishment too slight, wished to give his young men an opportunity to prove they were staunch blood-hounds. Poor Garrett Fennell, who had just landed from England, and was on his way to see his father and family, was met by this corps, and tied by his two hands up to a tree; they then stood at a certain distance, and each man lodged the contents of his carbine in the body of poor Fennell, at their captain's command."—Mitchel, pp. 290-1.

Again, we will give a further proof and illustration of the persecution of the Irish in 1798. Indeed, the whole history of Ireland, from the time that the first invader polluted the soil of Ireland to the present, is the history of blood, plunder and confiscation. No nation has suffered as much persecution as the Irish. The great wonder then, is, that they have kept alive the spark of liberty from generation to generation. It is indeed strange, when we know that the country has been made one great grave yard from north, south, east and west. Nothing but blood, blood. The Irish are a wonder—a miracle. Other nations yielded to the conqueror and submitted to the galling yoke of servitude, but the Irish are at this day unconquered in spirit.

Jonah Barrington speaks of British cruelties perpetrated on Irishmen in 1798:

“The Irish experienced a very different conduct in 1798, when immediate *execution* was generally the gentlest punishment inflicted upon the insurgents of every rank, office, and description, and the laws of retaliation giving rise to a competition of barbarities, deluged the whole country in blood, extinguished its spirit, divided its people, and destroyed its reputation.”—Barrington, p. 61.

The following is still additional proof, if proof was wanted, to show to the world the wholesale massacre of human beings for no other reason than that their invaders wanted their lands in the days of colonial upstarts and tyrants, and that a bloody drunken mob, armed with all the terrors of the law,—a law which has disgraced humanity, as it has been administered in Ireland—wanted the blood of their victims in '98. The innocent had no way of defending themselves from the wicked, cruel and despotic Cromwellian magistrates of Wexford. For those tyrants disgraced themselves as well as the government which armed them. Papist and rebel were the names which gave ferocity to those demons in human clothing. Their deeds will be remembered long after they have lost their power in Ireland. The following is from an eye witness:

“On the 25th of May, 26 farmers were placed in a dungeon in Carnew, under an old castle, and a council of war was held at night by a drunken gang of Orange bacchanalians, to decide on the speediest mode of executing them. On the following morning, one hoary tyrant proposed to put lighted straw into the dungeon and suffocate them, to save powder and ball; however, the majority wished for

the gratification of seeing the Papists die, and they were accordingly brought out in the morning and shot in a ball-alley."—Cloney.

During this eventful period of Irish persecution, the courts of justice were no better than slaughter houses. All law and humanity, religion and sympathy were forgotten by the blood-hounds of the ascendancy party. The deeds of the Indian savages found no parallel in the wanton cruelty of the times. The law courts were open merely to record the deaths of the unfortunate victims who offended the oligarchy, or who had property to be confiscated. Blood and plunder prompted the blood-hounds of 1798 to fill the country with suffering and desolation. Their deeds of blood haunts the memory of the Irish with horror and revenge even to this day. Those deeds will yet prompt Irishmen to gain their independence.

We quote the following from McGee. McGee, speaking of the persecutions of the united Irishmen, says :

"During the summer assize almost every considerable town and circuit had its state trial. The sheriffs had been carefully selected beforehand by the Castle, and the jurors were certain to be of the right sort, under the auspices of such sheriffs. Immense sums in the aggregate were contributed by the united Irish for the defence of their associates ; at the Down assizes alone, not less than seven or eight hundred guineas were spent in fees and retainers ; but at the close of the term Mr. Beresford was able to boast to his friend Lord Auckland, that but one of all the accused had escaped the penalty of death or banishment ! The military tribunals, however, did not wait for the idle formalities of the civil courts."

Soldiers and civilians, yeomen and townsmen, against whom the informer pointed his finger, were taken out and summarily executed. Ghastly forms hung upon the thick-set gibbets, not only in the market places of the country towns, and before the public prisons, but on all the bridges of the metropolis. Many of the soldiers, in every military district, were shot weekly and almost daily for real or alleged complicity with the rebels. The horrid torture of picketing, and the blood-stained lash, were constantly resorted to, to extort accusations or confessions. Over all these atrocities the furious and implacable spirit of Lord Clare presided in council, and the equally furious and implacable Lutrel, Lord Carhampton, as commander-in-chief. All moderate councils were denounced as nothing short of treason, and even the elder Beresford, the Privy Counsellor, was compelled to complain of the violence of his noble associate, and his inability to restrain the ferocity of his own nearest relatives—meaning probably his son John Claudius, and his son-in-law Sir George Hill. It was while this spirit was abroad, a spirit as destructive as ever animated the councils of Sylla or Marius in old Rome, or prompted the decrees of Robespierre or Marat in France, that the genius and courage of one man redeemed the lost reputation of the law, and upheld against all odds, the sacred claims of personal liberty. This man was John Philpot Curran, the most dauntless of advocates, one of the truest and bravest of his race.”—McGee’s History of Ireland, vol. 2, pp. 698–99.

The courts of law, as we have said before, were mere *slaughter houses*, for after the defeat of the patriots in 1798, Lord Norbury made a bloody record in history. He

disgraced the ermine of the judge, as well as the government whose commission he used as the instrument of torture and death. No eloquence could soften his heart of iron. No pity for his suffering victims ever found an emotion in his cold-blooded and depraved heart. The tears of the widow he heeded not. In short, he was a monster, and a fiend in human clothing. It would appear as if he had a special commission from the prince of the lower regions to plague humanity. For no fiend could display more depravity of heart than this judge of the ascendancy. His name will ever be associated with that of Nero and other bloody tyrants!

The following picture of the cruelties of the blood-stained courts of law in Ireland, in 1798 and 1803, is given by O'Connell:

"Why, on one circuit," (during the administration of the cold-hearted and cruel Camden,) "there were one hundred individuals tried before one judge; of these ninety-eight were *capitally convicted*, and *ninety-seven hanged!* I understand one escaped; but he was a soldier who murdered a peasant, or something of that trivial nature—*Ninety-seven victims in one circuit!!!*"—O'Connell's Speeches, vol. 1, p. 268.

Such have been the feelings which have always actuated the motives of the true and patriotic Irish in America. Such the motives which make Irishmen oppose the English interests in America. Not only in America, but all the world over, at all times and under all circumstances. Such will be the noble and patriotic feelings and emotions of Irishmen until the green banner of Erin floats triumphantly and defiantly over every sea in the world, from the

north pole to the south pole, and from the rising to the setting sun. The spirit of '98 stimulated and aroused the men of '48, and the men of '48 established the Emmett monument association. This association was inspired by the undaunted spirit of Tone, Emmett, and the patriots of '98. In 1858, John O'Mahoney became the president of the Fenians and head centre of all the members of the Brotherhood within the limits of New York city. In five years the society had branches all over the United States and in Canada. In 1863, the association was reconstructed on the model of the Republic of the United States.

On November 3, 1863, a national convention of the Fenian Brotherhood was held in Chicago, where 62 circles were represented. This body formed a constitution and by-laws.

They declared their "entire allegiance to the constitution and laws of the United States of America." That their object was "the national freedom of Ireland." "That the Fenian Brotherhood is not a secret society." James Stephens was made the chief executive of the Irish Republic.

The organization was under the direction of a Head Centre annually elected by the Fenian Congress. State organizations were directed by the State Centres, and Centres were to direct Circles, and Sub-Centres were to direct Sub-Circles. The Congress nominated and elected a council of five, a central treasurer, assistant treasurer, corresponding secretary, and recording secretary.

John O'Mahoney was elected Head Centre under the new constitution. This Congress issued a noble and patriotic address to the people of Ireland.

The second national congress was held at Cincinnati, January 17, 1865. Three hundred branches were represented. An address from the Fenians of Ireland showed that the people were ready for revolution—for raising the standard of liberty and for striking a blow at the ancient oppressors of Ireland—at that oppression which has been one unbroken bloody drama from the time that the first Saxon put his polluted foot on the sacred shores of Ireland, down to the years of Irish famine and extermination. Yes, since the minions of Henry II. cursed Ireland with their presence. Yes, this Henry II., who invaded Ireland under the false pretense of promoting religion and imparting to Ireland English civilization. That religion and civilization which England imparted to Ireland can be read in the Irish penal code!!

Yes, in the reign of Henry VIII., it was made a public offense to put more than seven yards of linen in a shirt.—Statute 28, Henry VIII. Blessed civilization, to steal a fruit, root, shrub, or vegetable from a garden, was punished with transportation. (Blackstone's Com., vol. 4, p. 234, and notes cited.) Even now we find some imperious and audacious flunkey tell us of the freedom of England—of the justice of English laws. Well, we give an instance of British freedom. Judge Perrin ordered the sheriff to arrest all persons for blowing their noses in the court room, in the city of Cork.

On the close of the recent American war, thousands of young and ardent Irishmen, who had seen service in both the Union and Confederate armies, wished for the golden hour—the long wished for opportunity, to give a death blow to the old foe of their dear fatherland. There were

now many Irishmen in the United States, who wished to fight under the green banner of Erin, led by some general of tried courage and skill, to the tune of Irish martial music, to fight over the combat for freedom, and gain what was lost in '98.

Public opinion in the United States favored war. The people expected that the Fenians would do something to dismember the British empire. The fighting element among the Irish and Irish sympathizers wished for the hour when they could say, "Perish the British Empire—live Ireland."

The oft repeated words of O'Connell: "Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not who would be free, themselves must strike the blow," was the motto of the military Irish. Such were their feelings on both sides of the ocean. It was said by the press of the United States and by the people of all classes, that something should be done for Ireland now or never. That speeches, resolutions and addresses should be followed by the cannon and the bayonet on the battle-field! That the Irish should invade Canada. That by invading Canada they could strike a blow at the power of England on the American continent, and sever the British possessions from the crown of England. That Canada could be used as a basis for fitting out privateers to depredate on British commerce. That by severing one part of the British Empire it would humble the pride of England. That by the means of privateers the Fenians could strike a blow at British commerce, the most vital part of British power. That if England lost her supremacy of the seas she would fall from her lofty pinnacle—that her

fame and power would be a thing of the past—that she would then be reduced to a fifth-rate power!

A rupture between the Brotherhood weakened the cause. The O'Mahoney and Roberts' wings spent some time in mutual recrimination. One party was for invading Canada, the other was opposed. Such was the temper of both wings, when a National Congress was held in New York, January 2d, 1866. A military convention was held in New York, February 22, 1866, on the anniversary of Washington's birth-day. An address was signed by 85 officers and 40 sergeants, who had served in the recent rebellion. The excitement grew more intense in Ireland. In 1866 one of the Fenian wings determined to invade Canada, because they were induced to believe that the United States authorities would not enforce the neutrality laws. They were made to believe that the United States would observe the neutrality laws, in the same spirit as England herself did during the recent rebellion. That the authorities would not prevent the Fenians crossing over to Canada. That in short, the United States would recognize the Fenians as a belligerent power; as England had shown the precedent in recognizing the Confederates as belligerents. The small force of brave Fenians who invaded Canada covered themselves with honor. The United States authorities enforced the neutrality laws and prevented the Fenians from reinforcing their comrades in Canada; and so the enterprise had to be abandoned. Had the United States government allowed the Fenians to invade Canada at this time, they would have severed Canada from England! But this invasion was not without a wholesome lesson to the old tyrants on the other side of the Atlantic. The London

Times even, admitted that if the Fenians could land in Ireland they could give England some trouble—I think they could. They would have severed the last link which binds Ireland to England. Had the Fenians an opportunity to fight over Limerick and the Boyne, on a fair field, they would have humbled British pride. This Fenian raid into Canada, and the Clerkenwell explosion, humbled the English oligarchy! The fact that the Fenians extended to the four winds of heaven, alarmed the rulers of England. The dread of Fenian outrages spoiled the digestion of English lords.

For the Fenian organization extended from pole to pole, wherever the exiled Irish resided. The organization became very extensive in England; for there are now in England over three millions of Irish or English-Irish (that is, Irishmen's children born in England). This Irish colony of workingmen have fraternized with the English Chartists, who number about three millions. Those six millions, with the liberal middle classes, have alarmed the old feudal Tory lords of England!

This act of blowing up the Clerkenwell prison, in the very city of London, alarmed the people of that great city. They were afraid that the next thing would be the burning of the fleet and the shipping in London and Liverpool with Greek fire or other inflammable substance. The days of the burning of London and the old gunpowder plot revived the nearly faded remembrances of those times. Alarm and fear haunted every mind. The fear of Fenians haunted the minds of the noble lords of England. They imagined what a frightful affair would it be if the parliament house should be blown up by horrible and hideous Fenians. They

even feared that the Fenians would blow up Windsor Castle and the Queen's palace! Oh, horror of horrors! and all this within the pale of the very "*wooden walls*" of old England. This was more frightful than any invasion of foreign troops. For in that instance the foe would be met by the army and navy, and the militia. In such a crisis the fighting would, for some time at least, be outside of the city of London. The noble lords and their families would have time to get at a safe distance from the scene of slaughter. But what could be done if a multitude of Fenians should blow up the city in the night time. Then it was impossible to tell who were Fenians, as they were in the army and navy. Even they may be among the Queen's life and body-guards. Even the royal nobles were not safe in Australia. The Fenians might even assassinate noble lords at watering places and other places of pleasure. Such were the fears that haunted the imaginations of the upper and ruling classes of England. The Manchester riots helped to increase the alarm. This fear caused the aristocracy to think it high time to do something for Ireland. The Gladstone ministry thought that if the government should abolish the established church in Ireland, that it would pacify the Irish. But, though meetings were held all over Ireland for the purpose of petitioning the government for the release of the Fenian prisoners, the government would not listen to their prayers, until the present Franco-Prussian war, and then not with a good grace, but with odious conditions.

They found that even the disestablishment of the Irish church did not put a stop to the agitation for nationality. They passed a kind of a tenant-right bill. But this will

not do. No country can be safe without independence. And indeed it would be better for England to give Ireland her freedom, for then she would not have to keep a standing army whenever a few men organized together and made any kind of an attempt at revolution. It would be better for England to have Ireland as an ally than as a perpetual dissatisfied subject. We ask any candid man what would this country be if it had remained a British colony? Do not the English merchants make more money by trade and commerce with the United States than with Canada? The government of England would lose more money by having British commerce suspended between the two countries for six months, than if England lost all of her American possessions. Now, if Ireland was free she would increase her trade and commerce, and in this way England would make more money in the end by trading with Ireland. She would be more powerful by having "*no Ireland*" to subdue, no Irish coast to guard, besides the justice of the thing. Why should not nations be just as well as individuals? Nature has formed Ireland for a nation; and a nation she shall be, no matter how long she remains in chains.

It was this fear and not love that caused the English government to abolish the church establishment in Ireland. This was not done with a good grace, for the most hateful of the Tories, with the old viper Derby at the head of 47 peers, protested against the "disestablishment of the Irish church." He raised the old "No Popery cry"—"The church is in danger." "That it interferes with private property. That it would tend to sever church and State, both in England and Ireland." "That it alienates the Irish Protestants

from loyal supporters of the crown." "That it gives a stimulus to the further demands of the Catholics." The dread of the military Irish in the United States will compel the oligarchy to grant *tenant rights*; not the present so-called tenant rights, but something more substantial. The Irish in America who have seen service, no matter under what name or organization, will, when there is an opportunity, give a death blow to the power and despotism of England. The Irish in the United States have a self-sustained and self-armed and equipped army ready to humble the "Britishers." Though the Irish may divide on the plan for the redemption of Ireland, on the main question, the liberty of Ireland, they are united. Let the United States make war on England, and it would unite the fighting Irish element all over the world. Can England be always at peace—certainly not. What of the Alabama claims, and the complications the future may bring forth?

The Fenians made a demonstration in Tipperary, Cork, Limerick, and Kerry. They were not able to organize in sufficient numbers to oppose the authorities. The Fenians must land in Ireland in force, with drums beating and colors flying. Then they can defy the spies and informers. In this way they can cause a general uprising of the people, with all the pomp of war; they can defy all the power of England and her perjured spies and informers, bribed and perjured judges and juries! But we cannot but admire the valor, courage and patriotism of those noble Irishmen who crossed the Atlantic to peril their lives and liberty for the freedom of their native land. Such sacrifices keep alive the spark of patriotism in Ireland from generation to generation. We want such men to keep alive that

agitation which, in the end, will prove the overthrow of British power in Ireland. Any party that keeps alive the noble spirit of rebellion and opposition to England, is the friend of Ireland. Opposition to English interest all over the world, should be the policy of Irishmen until Ireland is free. England, which extols her free institutions—"the cradle of liberty"—"the perfection of human law"—yes, England boasts of the humanity of her laws and the blessings of British freedom, yet we behold a judge arrayed in wig and gown, with all the solemnity of law, trying some unfortunate wight under an indictment for a misdemeanor. Oh, what was the crime for which he was indicted and tried before a British judge? Lo, the unfortunate man had a rooster, which "*crowed several times in twenty-five minutes;*" perhaps the noble bird disturbed some noble lord. Alas, for British freedom! The mercy of the English laws did not extend to the Fenians. The Fenian prisoners in Canada were tried by a partisan judge and a packed jury. In Ireland the oligarchy at the castle resorted to the old game of packed juries to convict the leaders of the Fenians, and send them into penal servitude. This is English mercy with a vengeance!! The cruelty of the British government to the Fenian prisoners, has driven many of them mad. Yet, England is lauded to the skies by many flunkies. We hear of the Anglo-Saxons as the founders of civilization—yes, that noble civilization which has driven the Fenian prisoners to insanity. Let England treat her state prisoners better before she boasts further of the humanity of the English laws! England has treated the Fenians with the most fiendish cruelty and brutal despotism, unworthy of the civilization of the nineteenth century.

Prisoners have been kept for days in damp and dismal dungeons, with their hands manacled behind their backs, both night and day, without even being loosened to take their food, but had to take it on "*all fours*." "In fact," said one of the prisoners, "they look upon me as a wild beast, and I am treated as such."

Another prisoner said, "This place is killing me, God send it may soon."

Many brave and noble Fenians were "slowly starved to death." Is this the way England should treat Irishmen, who have rendered her such noble service, in all her battles, from the famous battle of Cressy down to our own time. Yes, in all her wars Irishmen were found in the hottest of the fight! In the late expedition to Abyssinia, it was Irishmen who swept away the barbarians around Theodorus.

CHAPTER XXV.

England should learn that the spirit of liberty is not yet dead in Ireland. The amnesty meetings held, in 1869, in Ireland, for the release of the Fenian prisoners, were a defiance to England. Will not England take warning before it is too late. In 1869, the Castle oligarchy prevented a procession from marching in Dublin, because it was held on the very same day that O'Connell's Clontarf meeting was to be held. Well, perhaps England dreads the sacred soil of Clontarf. She may, some day, feel that the Irish, who drove the Danes into the sea, have inspired their descendants to emulate their example and drive the last Sax-

on invader into the sea! No wonder that England should tremble at the name of Clontarf. She should tremble for her misdeeds, when she knows that God is just!

Let British statesmen remember that as long as Irishmen are incarcerated in felons' dungeons—as long as their chains clank in the still midnight hours—while the prayers of millions of Irishmen are unheeded by the English government, it is in vain to talk of satisfying the people of Ireland. England must do justice to the noble Irish patriots who have wasted their lives in penal servitude in England and Australia, for merely loving Ireland!

But the hirelings of the British press tell the world that the Irish are a lazy and dissatisfied people. That all their misery and poverty is caused by their own lack of industry. These are the falsehoods of a subsidized partisan press, supported by the government and the ruling classes. These abominable falsehoods are reiterated by every periodical, journal, pamphlet, novel, song book, almanac, school book, child's primer, song and sermon, by those who wish to keep the people of Ireland in chains, and exonerate England from blame. For though the English government plays the tyrant at home, it wishes to be considered the special champion of freedom all over the world. By this vile system of cant and hypocrisy it has created a prejudice against the Irish in foreign countries. But not satisfied with this contemptible mode of disparaging everything Irish in foreign countries, they have inaugurated the same policy in Ireland, in educating the people, from Trinity College to the *national schools*. For the books used in those schools and colleges must not have anything anti-English in them; nothing in prose or poetry emanating

from Ireland's gifted poets or orators. But everything must tend to inspire the scholars with the vastness of the British empire, "over whose dominions the sun never sets," and with the might, wealth, power and resources of the British government and the freedom and prosperity of the English people. Even "the downfall of Poland" was considered by one of the "fire-shoveled-hat" censors as too "dangerous for Ireland," and should be excluded from the schools. The sermon and song of those law and order tyrants, would have the Irish love the English government and the castle oligarchy, landlords, greedy agents, bailiffs, police, spies, informers and blood-suckers, those wretched specimens of humanity, who betray their friends and country for filthy lucre. Those miscreants who sell their liberty and the liberty of their country for British gold. Yes, Derby wonders why the Irish cannot be patient under the despotism of the rack-renting and tyrannical landlords. The landlords wonder why any person should be dissatisfied with the "best government on earth." Well, perhaps it is the best government on earth for the Irish landlords. This "best government" gives the noble lords of Ireland power to clear their estates of all tenants at will—turning the fields of the tenants into pasture lands for the raising of fat cattle. Lord Derby evicted the tenants on his estates because they did not vote as the noble lord wished!

We will give a few extracts from the common form of leases in Ireland, as published in the London *Times*:

This lease given in the London *Times*, is the same as that which is used on Lord Leitrim's estates. The lease thus given by this noble lord is from year to year; it reserves to his lordship all timber, so that if the tenant should

plant a tree he could not cut it for his own use, unless he had a written permission from the landlord; it reserves bogs, mines, game, hares, rabbits, wild fowl and fish, so that all the fish and game is reserved for the exclusive benefit of the landlord and his friends, "his heirs and assigns, his and their nominees, servants and followers." The landlord and his servants and agents can enter the lands of the tenants for the purpose of searching for minerals and making roads and drains. The tenant must have the permission of the landlord for making new roads, drains or fences. The tenant must keep in repair all buildings, without any recompense. He must "dig up and cut down all thistles, docks and other weeds before they go to seed, or at any time when desired to do so by the said Earl of Leitrim, his heirs or assigns, or his or their agent or other person duly authorized for the time being."

The tenant is also "to assist to the utmost the said Earl in prosecuting trespassers." The tenant must "not at any time take, or suffer to be taken out, any dog or dogs, or destroy or injure, or suffer to be destroyed or injured, any game, or the eggs or young of any game, hares, or rabbits, or wild fowl," but must on the contrary, "preserve and protect the same."

If he does not comply with those conditions in his lease, (can it be called a lease?) he must pay this noble lord additional rent, called by the gentle name of liquidated damages.

The tenant, who has to comply with the above conditions, is not entitled "to any payment or compensation for any farm or other building, for agriculture or otherwise, or for any fixture or improvement of any description, unless

the making of such work or improvement shall have been previously stipulated for and specified by an agreement in writing." Should we wonder that the Irish should be dissatisfied with a government which makes the landlords masters of the working millions of Ireland? Should we then wonder that the people of Ireland should wish for the golden opportunity to sever the last link that connects Ireland with England? Yes, a connection more despotic than that of any other government on earth.

The people of the United States are daily learning the true source of Irish grievances. They do not wonder that the Fenians wished to dismember the British empire. They do not themselves forget the "times which tried men's souls." They do not forget the war of 1812. They do not forget the Alabama question, unless it be the rich merchants who dread a foreign war lest they should be the losers of a few paltry dollars in their trade. The toiling millions of America sympathize with Ireland and her noble efforts to free herself from the control and domineering despotism of the British lion. What wonder that the Fenians should have extended to the four winds of heaven.

In 1844, the English government, in the fulness of humanity and mercy to the tenants of Ireland, appointed a commission to inquire into the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland. But strange to say, this commission was composed of Irish landlords. Those humane commissioners, the descendants, perhaps, of those noble worthies who composed "Cromwell's slaughter-house," arrived at the following conclusions as to the manner of removing abuses: "The commission foresaw that there would be

some danger for the just rights of property to grant, in full, *tenant right*."

"Annexed will be found a statement proving that the consolidation of small farms, under eight acres, would necessitate the expulsion of 190,368 families (at least a million of people). The commission consider that the remedy particularly applicable is emigration."

Those resolutions are held as divine authority by the British parliament. Those worthies of the "Cromwell's slaughter-house" school, were more unjust than their ancestors; for Cromwell's edict only banished Irishmen beyond the Shannon into Connaught. But this commission would banish a million of Irishmen beyond the Atlantic. Yet we shudder at "midnight legislation," and "agrarian outrages."

In 1847, a committee of the British House of Lords, the ancient enemies of Ireland, came to the conclusion, no doubt after grave deliberation, after feasting on Irish beef, that some means should be employed to remove the "*surplus of strong arms*" from Ireland. Yes, the population of Ireland was getting too strong for the security of the empire! But those nobles did not know to what part of the globe the "emigration" should be directed. Certainly to the British colonies of North America, the East India Islands, New South Wales, Port Phillip, Southern Australia, Van Dieman's Land, and New Zealand. But they did not recommend emigration to the United States. Though they did not want the population of Ireland too strong, yet they wanted Irishmen in their army and navy, and in their colonies, to increase the wealth, power, and resources of the empire. Certainly, they did not want Irishmen in the

United States, where they would become hostile to the British government, and add to the fighting resources of that rival country. They did not want Irishmen to go to the United States to help to build her cities, railroads, and other works of improvement. They did not want Irishmen to go to the United States to work the mines, to clear the forests and cultivate the vast prairies. They did not want Irishmen to go to the United States to be merchant princes, judges, governors and congressmen. They did not want Irishmen to swell the army and navy of the United States, as officers and soldiers. For certainly they did not forget the whipping that Jackson gave the British soldiers at New Orleans. But the humane government was saved all trouble, for the famine of 1846-7-8-9 swept away millions of the people, while the hirelings of England, by the authority of Lord John Russell, took away by force the crops which would have supported more than double the population of Ireland, and gave the same to feed the people of England! This is the way that the British government got rid of the "*surplus*" population of Ireland!

But she will find that those Irishmen in the United States will never rest satisfied until they visit the despotic lords of England and Ireland with a terrible vengeance!

It matters not about the names of the organizations, or who the men are that conduct them, for there is a noble disposition—a holy will pervading the hearts of Irishmen in the United States, which will teach the lords of England and Ireland that tyranny must be punished. Let England be forced into another war, then we will find that Irish patriots in the United States, united, will strike for liberty. We will see Irishmen forsake the plow, the loom, the ax

and the anvil, and grasp the musket, the sword and the pike to fight for the cause of Ireland. England knows this, and is afraid to go to war. But to war she must go, willing or unwilling.

The United States must have satisfaction for the Alabama and other claims, unless Grant proves a traitor to the country. England now rests on a magazine of "gun-powder;" the first spark of war will ignite the samē, and blow up the British empire. Yes, this empire will share the same fate as the empires of the past. This is the manifest decree of an all-wise and just providence. For, as we have said, a nation cannot be punished in the next world as a nation, so it must be punished in this world. England will be punished in this world for her manifest and manifold sins—unless her people overthrow the present form of government. Kings and lords must be swept from off the shores of England by the English democrats, and the standard of freedom hoisted over the free republic of England. And Englishmen must recognize the Irish Republic. This alone will save England, in the coming storm! Her sins are more enormous than the darkest deeds of Pagans or Mohammedans, ancient or modern. In vain do we look for such glaring sins among the Pagans of antiquity, or in the dark ages! In the nineteenth century, of boasted christian civilization, we find that a coroner's jury rendered against the Prime Minister of England a verdict of "*wilful murder!*" But the infamous Robert Stewart, better known as Lord Castlereagh, who was the vile instrument of Pitt, the British minister, in the nefarious plot to steal away the Irish parliament, had told the rump, who committed this national suicide, that the prosperity of England would give

prosperity to Ireland. But time now shows that in this prosperity England has had the lion's share! This connection has been fraught with all the miseries which one nation can visit upon another people. From this connection, Irishmen must and shall free their country.

It is some satisfaction to Irishmen on this side of the ocean, that the spirit of liberty in Ireland is gaining strength. What a noble rebuke the noble and gallant men of Tipperary have given to the boasted freedom of the British constitution. Here we have O'Donovan, a Fenian prisoner, incarcerated in a *British dungeon*, returned a member of parliament. What a bold rebuke this. What obloquy this heaps on the vile heads of the oligarchy and the worthless ascendancy party. This is, indeed, retributive justice!!

"Oh, remember the days when their reign we did disturb,
At Limerick and Thurles—Blackwater and Benburb;
And ask that proud Saxon if our blows he did enjoy,
When we met him on the battle-field, in France—at Fontenoy.
Then we'll up for the green, boys, and up for the green!
Oh, 'tis still in the dust, and a shame to be seen;
But we've hearts and we've hands, boys, full strong enough I ween,
To rescue and to raise again our own unsullied green!"

—*Spirit of the Nation.*

As we have said, England never yields any concession to Ireland but in the hour of her weakness, when she is in danger from foreign invasion, or when Europe is involved in war. She has kept the Fenian prisoners in vile dungeons while Europe was in peace, but when the war clouds burst on the continent, when two great nations became involved in deadly conflict, when she feared that she would have to fight the Russian Bear, when she dreaded another Sebastopol, when she feared that the Alabama claims

would have to be settled by giving Canada to the United States, then, and only until then, did she think it prudent to release the Fenian prisoners. She would not extend to them a general amnesty ; oh, no ; but she banished them to America, where we hope they will give her some trouble. For though the Fenians have divided among themselves—though the late raid of 1870 into Canada was unsuccessful, yet time will give Irishmen an opportunity to gain their liberty. What strange things have transpired in the world in the last ten years! What wonderful changes in the United States! What startling events in Europe! Any person who would predict those events in 1860, would be considered a fit inmate for a mad-house. What great events may yet happen before 1880, no one can venture to predict. Who knows but Ireland may then be free. This should be a lesson to Irishmen not to despair of the ultimate freedom of their country. When Ireland will be hailed as the young Republic of the island of the sea.

But from the many unsuccessful attempts at rebellion in Ireland, many well-minded and honest Irishmen have often said that it is impossible for Ireland to overthrow the government of England, with her great wealth and military power. But we must remember that nations, like individuals, have their youth, manhood, maturity, and old age. In the pages of history we behold England in the prime of her youth, sending her mail-clad knights to the Holy Land. In her manhood she has fought from the plains of Cressy to the memorable fields of old Waterloo. In her old age she has been humbled at Sebastopol. Since then she has been standing on her dignity and living on the glory of the past, while other great nations have eclipsed her in power.

The United States, Russia and Prussia have thrown her into the shade. No intelligent person can fail to see her fall. She may struggle on for a short time, but, sooner or later, she will have to abandon Ireland, as the Romans had to do when the Goths and Vandals overpowered their armies, then the Roman soldiers had to leave the Britons to themselves. England should take warning from the fate of France. A few years ago, Napoleon III. said that France was able to defend herself against the world. Doubtless Napoleon built his castles in the air on the past glory of military France, and when the tug of war came, France was found unprepared for war. Nations cannot depend much on their past glory; they must, like individuals, keep up with the times. They must prepare for war. England has now lost her old military glory—her glory is of the past. While she had Ireland to recruit her armies and navy she could defy the world. But in 1846-7-8-9, three millions of the toiling Irish, from whose ranks the government of England recruited her armies, disappeared from Ireland at least. Some died by famine; some found graves in the deep ocean; others in the grave yards of Canada and the United States; while the more fortunate found homes in free America. Since then it is difficult for England to raise an army. For the famine and immigration have made wages higher in Ireland. This has enabled many Irishmen to leave Ireland for America, many of whom would otherwise be induced to join the English army. England in this way has lost many Irishmen who would do her fighting. England's loss in this respect, is a gain to the United States. We say again, that it is no wonder that England should dread going to war. She cannot live on

the glory of the past. We see this from the fate of France. The only thing that can save England is to do one good act which will atone for the past; that act is, to let Ireland have her own government—her own Republic. Let England hoist the standard of liberty, and demolish royalty and nobility, and enter into a treaty with the Irish Republic, and then she can retain her former greatness.

AFTER THE BATTLE.

“Night closed around the conqueror’s way,
 And lightnings showed the distant hill,
 Where those who lost that dreadful day
 Stood few and faint, but fearless still.
 The soldier’s hope, the patriot’s zeal,
 Forever dimm’d, forever cross’d—
 Oh! who shall say what heroes feel,
 When all but life and honor’s lost?
 “The last sad hour of freedom’s dream,
 And valor’s task, moved slowly by,
 While mute they watched, till morning’s beam
 Should rise and give them light to die.
 There’s yet a world, where souls are free,
 Where tyrants taint not nature’s bliss—
 If death that world’s bright opening be,
 Oh! who would live a slave in this?”

—Moore.

CHAPTER XXVI.

IRISH AMERICANS. THE IRISH IN THE UNITED STATES.

Irishmen in every clime—The fertility of Ireland—What nature has done for Ireland—Cruel laws—Penal laws—British policy—Irish exiles—Irish in America—Irish-American patriotism—The Declaration of Independence—The Constitution—Congress—The republican party—Irish parents—Irish authors—Counties—Puritans—Anti-

Catholics—The United Irishmen—Burning of Catholic churches—Native Americans—Know-Nothings—Republicans—Aristocracy—Democratic principles of equality—Self-made men—Irish valor—Fontenoy—Irish independence—Irish aristocracy—Irish farmers in America—Tories—Native Americans—Monopolies—High tariffs—Irish character—Irish in the Atlantic States.

We find our race in every clime, from the north pole to the south pole and from the rising to the setting sun. It seems as if cruel fate made Irishmen wanderers all over the world. Why is it, my countrymen, that the Irish have to abandon their homes to seek an asylum in every country under the broad canopy of heaven?

Do Irishmen love their country? For seven hundred years they have made incessant war on England. Is it that they are dissatisfied with her climate? Why, the climate is the most pleasant and salubrious in the world! Is it that the soil is barren? Why, Ireland is famed for her fertility. She is called the "Green isle of the ocean." "First flower of the earth, and first gem of the sea."

Her mountains can be cultivated even to their very summits. Her farming produce is unequalled in the world. Is it for the want of minerals? She abounds in rich mines of gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, and coal, and some of the finest marble in the world. In some instances, her streets are paved with marble. In Kilkenny, the streets are paved with the best quality of marble. Is it that she is not adapted for commerce? Her harbors are the most commodious in the world. She is favored by nature to be a great commercial nation. Merchant ships from Liverpool pass by the ports of Waterford and Dublin. What, then, is the cause of this great Irish exodus? Is it the want of love of

country? The Irish are the most attached to their country of any people in the world. They do not want to leave their native soil, until forced from it by the cruel landlords; and then they often in their "dreams sublime" revisit the land of their birth. Wherever the Irish immigrant makes a home, even though he may be blessed with affluence, his fondest hopes are to return to his native village to spend his last hours midst the scenes of his childhood.

"And as a hare, whom hounds and horns pursue,
Pants to the place from whence at first she flew,
I still had hopes, my long vexations past,
Here to return, and die at home at last."

Why, then, do the Irish voluntarily exile themselves, to become strangers in a strange land?

"And thou thyself over every country sown,
With none on earth that thou can'st call thine own."

It is because the Irish people have been suffering under the most cruel and systematic tyranny in the world, from the days of McMorrough to Castlereagh. It is because of the misgovernment and oppression of Ireland. The usurpation of England over the Irish parliament by Poyning's law and the act of 6th of George I., which bound Ireland by British statutes. By means of this legislative usurpation, England was able to ruin the manufactures, trade and commerce of Ireland. The bloody penal statutes, and restraint on commerce. A standing army; the want of a habeas corpus. Ireland had been also cursed with a permanent mutiny bill, and the total deprivation of Catholics from holding any office of trust or honor, civil or military, under the Irish government. In the reign of the Protestant ascendancy, the Catholics were treated as alien enemies

by the colonial parliament of the pale. They were put out of the pale of the British constitution!

Under the statutes of William III., no Protestant in Ireland was allowed to instruct a Papist. By the 8 Anne, no Papist was allowed to instruct any other Papist. By 7 William III., no Papist was allowed to be sent out of Ireland to be educated. Thus nine-tenths of the population were prohibited, by bloody penal statutes, from receiving an *education*. By the 8 Anne, a Papist clergyman coming into Ireland was hanged. Yet, England claims to be the cradle of liberty; but what liberty has she given to Ireland? Yet, the English government has the audacity to speak of the ignorance of the Irish. What wonder that a people who have suffered so much English persecution for seven hundred years should not have some ignorance among them! The wonder is that they know so much. The colonial parliament, even under the lead of Grattan, and while battling for an independent parliament in 1782, would not grant equal rights to their Catholic countrymen! In 1792, the Catholics presented a petition to the *parliament of the pale* to obtain the elective franchise in this, so-called, Irish parliament, but the opposition was so powerful that it was rejected by a vote of 208 to 23.

The British minister took advantage of the divisions among the people—between Catholic and Protestant; between the aristocracy and the people; between patriot and courtier; between provinces, and even counties; between Orangemen and Ribbonmen, even down to parishes, where factions met by appointment at fairs to fight for some obsolete *idea* or object. But in consequence of the “Repeal” organizations in Ireland, under the lead of

O'Connell, when useful knowledge was imparted to the people by the repeal press and "reading rooms," the people learned the folly of those party fights. During those days the *Dublin Nation* helped to put a stop to those party fights at fairs and markets, which had divided the people and gave strength to the enemy. Those party fights are now, thanks to providence, a thing of the past. We hear no more of "Three years and four years." The motto of the British government, since Henry II. landed in Ireland, has been "divide and conquer." They attempted to bribe the volunteers in 1782; for by bribery and corruption they stole the parliament in 1800, as before mentioned. They attempted to divide the Irish during the agitation for Catholic emancipation. They divided the United Irishmen and organized the Orange lodges! The Irish had no rights which the English government thought proper to respect. Indeed, England showed more solicitation for a petty German principality (for which she has lavished both blood and gold) not as large as an Irish county, than for the welfare of Ireland!

Among the many immigrants who left their native soil to seek "that repose, which at home, they had sighed for in vain," were the Blakes and O'Donnells of Spain; the O'Neills and McMahons of France; the Nugents of Austria; the O'Higgins of Chili; and the Lacys of Russia. In America we find the immortal Montgomery fighting for American liberty, and against the tyranny of England, sacrificing his life at Quebec for American independence. We find honest and saucy Jack Barry, "father of the American navy;" Gen. John Stark, John Sullivan, Anthony Wayne, Knox, afterwards secretary of war to President

Washington, and Gen. Conway, fighting for American independence. Daniel Carroll gave to Gen. Washington his farm for to locate the city of Washington. "The White House" is on the spot where the smoke of Carroll's chimney ascended over the blue waters of the Potomac! One-third of the officers of the revolution were Irishmen or Irish-Americans. In the war of 1812, we find the immortal Jackson and Commodore McDonnough thrashing the "*Britishers*."

In the Mexican war, Gen. James Shields, the Sarsfield of America, and the first soldier of his race, and Major W. A. Gorman, gained immortal fame.

The Irish have distinguished themselves as brave soldiers in all ages. Even the colonial writers of the pale have conceded to them this honor. Spenser says:

* * "That in all the services which they had seen abroad in foreign countries, they never saw a more comely man than the Irishman, nor that cometh on more bravely to the charge."

Where has there been an army in all Europe, which distinguished itself, but Irishmen, also, displayed their courage and bravery—their achievements are world renowned. Irishmen received the badge of honor from Maria Theresa. Irish soldiers want nothing but fair play and no favors to distinguish themselves and win immortal glory on the battle field! Yet England has invented the infamous lie—a mere slur: "That Irishmen make good soldiers abroad, but bad soldiers at home." The history of Ireland gives the lie to the assertion, that the Irish are bad soldiers at home—if so, how is it that from the time of Henry II. to that of Henry VIII., after three hundred years of slaughter,

the English pale was confined to the limits of twenty miles around the city of Dublin. But the darling policy of England is to underrate the Irish at home and abroad. Is it reasonable that those who are bad soldiers at home could make good soldiers abroad? Absurd!

The New England Puritans should not forget that they owe a debt of gratitude to such eminent Irish-Americans as Governor Sullivan, who has become famous as the great projector of the Essex canal. They should be grateful to the memory of Bishop Berkeley, a native of Kilkenny, who donated to old Yale College, his farm and library. Bishop Berkeley was the author of the following lines, so often quoted :

“ Westward the Star of Empire takes its way,—
The three first acts already past;
The fourth shall close with the closing day,—
Earth's noblest Empire is the last.”

We find that even old Faneuil Hall was built by an Irish architect. New York is indebted to Christopher Colles and Governor Clinton for the construction of the Erie canal, and for projecting the Croton aqueduct, all planned by their great ingenuity.

The Declaration of Independence was printed by John Dunlap, an Irish-American. The Declaration of Independence was signed by the following Irish-Americans: Mathew Thornton, for New Hampshire; James Smith, for Pennsylvania; George Taylor, for the same State; George Read, for Delaware; Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, for Maryland; Thomas Lynch, jr., for South Carolina; Thomas McKean, for Pennsylvania; Edward Rutledge, for South Carolina!

Of the signers of the Constitution, the shield of civil and religious liberty, six Irish-Americans aided in that

noble work: Read, McKean, John Rutledge, Pierce Butler, Daniel Carroll, and Thomas Fitzsimmons.

Among the senators of the first congress were Charles Carroll and Thomas Fitzsimmons; in the House of Representatives, John Sullivan, George Read. On the supreme bench of the United States we find Judge Wilson. Other prominent Irish-Americans, though not in proportion to their constituents, held seats in congress. We must not forget Gen. Shields, who with great ability has represented two States in the Senate of the United States. W. A. Gorman has also made his mark in congress, as an Irish-American from Indiana.

During the recent war the republican party did not want to promote Irishmen. They wanted them in the ranks, or in some place where they would be overpowered by the Confederates. Yet Shields, Gorman, Corcoran, Meagher, and Mulligan, gained, despite of republicans, great honor and renown for Irishmen.

Irish parents, in this country, should teach their children to believe that it is no dishonor to be an Irishman. Let them place before them the map of old Ireland! Let them have in their book-cases the histories of Ireland. Place in their hands the writings of eminent Irishmen, such as Grattan, Flood, Molyneux, Lucas, Swift, Burke, Sheridan, O'Connell, Curran, Mitchel, Meagher, Phillips, and Barrington, and the sweet poetry of Moore, Goldsmith, and the lamented Thomas Davis. Let them read of Ireland's heroes, from Nial the Grand to Sarsfield. Let them read of the patriots Napper Tandy, Tone, Emmett, and Fitzgerald; of her eminent divines and missionaries, and they will find their sons Irish in heart and mind, who will be an honor to their hoary

sires. The Irish should also take some newspaper devoted to Irish interest. Their Irish-American sons would profit so much from reading such papers—it would be an antidote against the mean slang which they read in newspapers and almanacs caricaturing or maligning Irishmen. Then their sons would not “bring down their gray hairs in sorrow to the grave.” Irishmen’s sons in New York, in general, would feel insulted to be called anything but Irishmen; for they find their countrymen rich and powerful in that great city, they find Irishmen distinguished as orators, lawyers, physicians, editors, and merchant princes—filling high stations, from judge to policeman!

Irish parents should never talk disrespectfully either of Ireland or Irishmen before their children, who swallow such tales, which make a lasting impression on their young minds, and engenders contempt both for their parents and everything Irish. This has made many young Irishmen disown their country!

But unfortunately for the Irish, they never leave their native land, from their great attachment to the old chapel, where they were initiated into the bosom of the church,—the old school-house where they spent happy days with brothers, sisters and playmates; the old family residence, where dwelt father, mother, brothers and sisters enjoying that holy bliss which requires an Irish heart to appreciate and enjoy, and the old church yard, where lies the ashes of their kindred for centuries, and which nothing in the world could make Irishmen abandon but the cruel and tyrannical laws of England, and the despotism of relentless landlordism, until they are penniless, when they are compelled to look for employment wherever it can be had. They

have to begin a new life, in a new world, without capital. Had they left Ireland before their means were exhausted, they could come out west and settle down on land.

Another source of evil to Irishmen is the foolish prejudice growing out of a distinction on account of provinces and counties. This has been handed down from traditional prejudices growing out of the wars of the Irish kings and chiefs. The Irish should remember that this has been Ireland's greatest source of evil, as those wars distracted and divided the Irish kings, who, had they been united, could have defied the power of England!

"And while your tyrants joined in hate,
You never joined in love."

The monarchs of England, from Henry II. down to Queen Victoria, took advantage of the mutual jealousies and divisions of the people, who, from those local prejudices, on account of *counties and provinces*, breed feuds from which no good can result, and which every good man should frown down.

"There had been, or were, 'White Boys,' and 'Right Boys'—'Caravats' and 'Shanavests'—'Thrashers' and 'Carders'—'Hearts of Steel'—'Peep-o'-Day Boys'—'Defenders'—'Orangemen' and 'Ribbonmen.'"

But we find local prejudices among the Highland and Lowland Scotch—in England we hear the term "*Cornish Knave*" and "*Yorkshire bites*." We find this feeling existing between the Eastern and Western people, and a strong Southern feeling against the "Yanks." In Boston, all are supposed to be barbarous outside of the "*hub*." In New York, all are considered "*rural districts*" outside of the cities of New York and Brooklyn!

It has been said that a bad subject makes a bad citizen. It has even been said that the Irish are very bad subjects at home. It is proverbial to say: "it broke out like an Irish rebellion." But if we examine the bloody penal code of Ireland and England, we will not wonder that the Irish are rebellious. The laws of England, as administered in Ireland, were not fit to make the Irish loyal! No people under heaven are more attached to the Constitution of the United States than the Irish; no people love liberty and equality better than they do!

Let us revert to the history of the United States:

The people of Massachusetts always entertained the most unjust and absurd ideas of Irish inferiority. They have imbibed this prejudice from reading British histories and British authors—and from a national and religious feeling, they had proscribed and caricatured everything Irish.

For, as we have said, the British writers have made it a study to misrepresent Irishmen and everything Irish. Their histories and newspapers have teemed with the most unjust falsehoods against Irishmen and Ireland. Unfortunately, those lies have been taken as good authority in the United States. No wonder that the American people should entertain the most unjust prejudices against the Irish, when we remember the source of their information and knowledge. But for the past few years this prejudice has been on the wane.

"During the reigns of James I., Elizabeth and Cromwell, pamphlets defaming the Irish were constantly issuing from the press of England. These pamphlets were issued in periods of strife, for the purpose of palliating, before the more humane portions of the people of England, the atro-

cities of their agents and armies in Ireland. For sixty years these pamphlets continued to be issued in England; not one of them but contained willful, detailed falsehoods. Even John Milton blotted his pages with enormous calumnies on the Catholics, and retained vigor enough to abuse the Irish Presbyterians in his old age. Throughout the last centuries, the English historians copied into their books the wretched effusions of these party pamphleteers. The English acts of parliament, through every preamble and clause, contained calumny and abuse of the Irish. And from these lying pamphlets, and lying acts of parliament, has the history of England relating to this period been compiled. Those things were encouraged, for it was comfortable to them to hear ill names applied to a race they had robbed and slaughtered. Those calumnies worked into the histories of England. Falsehoods once brought into life take ages to die. English conversation, literature, public documents, all convey a disparaging account of the resources, military achievements, and abilities, of the Irish. Of course this is done to discourage all attempts of the Irish people to recover their independence."—Mooney, vol. 1, pp. 743-4.

Penn., in 1708, wrote, from London, to Logan, not to suffer public mass in Pennsylvania.

In 1725, a meeting was held in Massachusetts Bay, for settling the town. It was resolved, that no alienation of lots be made without the consent of the community.

In 1720, the general government of the colony resolved, that recent families from Ireland be ejected by the Attorney General.

Governor Gordon and council prohibited the erection of

a Catholic church, in Walnut street, Philadelphia, in 1734. The Federal party were the friends of England, while the Democrats were anti-British.

The headquarters of the United Irishmen was at Philadelphia, in 1797. In 1798, John Adams caused the enactment of the infamous alien law, so as to intimidate the United Irishmen. Rufus King, American Minister to London, refused passports to Emmett and Macneven; this influenced the Irish feeling against John Adams and the Federalists.

In 1834, the fanatics of Boston burned the Convent of Charleston, Massachusetts.

In 1844, the Native Americans had organizations in all the great cities. Their principles were,

1. "That no foreigner should be naturalized under a residence of twenty-one years.

2. "That the Catholic religion was dangerous to the country.

3. "That the Protestant scriptures should be the foundation of all the common school education."

This year the Native Americans burned the Catholic churches in Philadelphia. The Native American party failed in 1846.

On the demise of the old Whig party, the Know-Nothing party was organized in 1853; in 1855 it swept over the country like wild fire. In 1856, Mr. Fillmore was their candidate for president. Buchanan beat him, as well as the Republican candidate, Fremont. Henceforth we find the Know-Nothing party fused with the Black Republicans.

The Catholics of Maryland were liberal in extending their hospitality to the oppressed of the other colonies.

The old Puritans of New England, although they had to fly from persecution from England to the wilds of America, yet when they had power in their own hands, they drowned, hanged and burned witches, and expelled Roger Williams, the Quakers, and all who differed with them in politics or religion. The Catholic Irish of Maryland invited the oppressed from New England to come to their colony and enjoy civil and religious liberty and equality. The Know-Nothings of Baltimore should not forget this.

In 1852, when Bishop Hughes was asked what was the position of the Catholic clergy in the Presidential election, the Bishop said that the church did not take part in politics. That the church in the United States had all the liberty she wanted.

The great trouble is, that Americans look through English glasses at everything Irish.

What a pity that the Irish, who are so quick of perception, with an acuteness which makes them formidable in debate—with manners open and generous, high spirited and liberal, independent, enthusiastic, patriotic, cordial, open, joyous, sensitive, and ardent, should be influenced by the aristocracy.

In 1798, in the memorable Wexford rebellion, the Irish gave the command of 30,000 men to Bagnal Harvey, because he was a man of wealth. He remained an idle spectator on a hill while the patriots were fighting the battle of Ross!

They gave the command of 124,000 men, brave Irish volunteers, in 1782, to Lord Charlemot, who delivered them to the British government.

Ireland had too many aristocratic patriots. This has

caused her ruin. Even in this country, we find many Irishmen who look with disdain upon those who have been poor, or who have worked themselves up from poverty and obscurity. They should overcome this foolishness. The Catholic church has no aristocracy. The road to preferment is talent, worth, piety, and popularity. Bishop Hughes had to work with the spade in early life. Bishop Becket and Cardinal Wolsey worked their way up from humble stations to be the most eminent luminaries of the church.

With such examples before Irishmen, let them not despise any one because he had to work for a living. We must follow the example of our American neighbors, who take their leaders from the humble walks of life. Their self-made men—the Washingtons, Henrys, Jacksons, Websters, Clays, Fillmores, Lincolns and Johnsons.

President Lincoln was a rail-splitter, Fillmore a wool-comber, and Johnson a tailor, and Henry Clay was the poor “miller boy of the slashes.” The Irish must prize talent, honor, and honesty more than wealth!

“When Adam delv'd and Eve span,
Where was then the gentleman?”

“O, woman of three cows, agragh! don't let your tongue thus rattle!
O, don't be saucy, don't be stiff, because you may have cattle;
Your neighbor's poor, and you it seems are big with vain ideas,
Because, forsooth, you've got three cows, one more I see than she has;
That tongue of yours wags more at times than charity allows,
But if you're strong, be merciful, great woman of three cows.”

English tyranny and misrule banished Irishmen to the continent to whip the British lion at Fontenoy. Irishmen helped to whip England in the revolution of 1776! Hickory Jackson whipped the British army at New Orleans. And the brave Irish who fought in the recent rebellion, will

gain Irish independence. An Irish Republic. The democracy of both England and Ireland should gain the freedom of both countries. They should join hands together to abolish royalty and aristocracy. Let the English Tory government and the landlords of Ireland tremble, for their reign will soon end !

“ But brighter days must surely come, than those that we have seen,
When all her sons may proudly sing, ‘ the wearing of the green.’ ”

We have before remarked that the Irish of this generation have seen the folly of petty divisions, caused in a great measure, by the government of England fostering an anti-Irish faction, who sustain the English interest in Ireland. This faction has been the ruling power in Ireland until 1849, when many of the aristocracy lost their estates under the encumbered estate law ; many of them are now homeless, while their tenants are prosperous farmers in America. Many more of their Irish tenants should come to this country, where they can get farms cheap, and where they can aim to thwart the anti-Irish faction even in this country. For since the days of the revolution there has been a party in the United States, whose aim and object and darling policy has been to establish the British constitution and laws in the United States. The old Tories fought against Washington and his army, in the field. They were the spies and instruments of the British Generals in the days of the revolution. When victory perched upon the banners of the revolutionary fathers, those Tories had to change their party name, but they did not change their principles. Henceforth they became the leading spirits of the old Federal party, until that party became odious, in consequence of the alien and sedition laws. But though

they have changed their party name from time to time, the better to delude the people, yet they were anti Irish, and were opposed to foreigners in some manner or another. They wanted to keep foreigners twenty-one years in this country before they could have a vote. The native Americans and Know-Nothings wanted to exclude Catholics from holding offices. The Whigs were in favor of high tariffs and all kinds of monopolies. All those parties who opposed the Democratic party were for making the rich richer and the poor poorer,—one and all they were the advocates of class legislation. The Irish, at home, had suffered, for centuries, from the oppression of the penal code, high tariffs, and monopolies. They had fought for generations against British despotism—they had been excluded at home, under the penal code, from the benefit of the laws. They could hold no office, civil or military, under the tyranny of the colonial tyrants. What wonder, then, that they should join that party, in the United States, that advocated religious liberty, and that was in favor of extending to foreigners the same political rights and equality as that of the native Americans. This is the reason that the Irish are Democrats, in the United States. For they love liberty, equality, and fair play. This has been conceded to them, even by the colonial writers of the pale. Sir John Davis, an Englishman, who was then an Attorney General of the pale, says:

“There is no nation of people under the sun that doth love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish.”

Again, one of the great lights of British jurisprudence gives us a fair representation of the law-loving character of the Irish, when they see the law administered in equity

and justice. When they see that the government and the laws protect all classes, the rich and the poor alike. This great authority is no less a personage than Lord Coke. This is his testimony: "There is no nation of the christian world that are greater lovers of justice than the Irish."

Thus we find that even Englishmen themselves bear witness to the law-loving spirit and character of the Irish. In the United States, the Irish have been found among the most zealous upholders of the constitution of the United States. So they ought, for it is the greatest shield of civil and religious liberty. What wonder, then, that the Irish should have united with that party in the United States, that extends to all civil and religious liberty. That party that is opposed to great monopolies and high tariffs. That party which has always guaranteed to all civil and religious liberty—the friends of the foreigners and strangers. The Irish in the Atlantic States should come in greater numbers to the West, while homesteads and cheap lands can be got. For farming is the surest and safest business in the world.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE ANGLO-SAXON RACE NOT THE FOUNDERS OF CIVILIZATION.

The nations that flourished before the time of the Anglo-Saxons—Ancient civilization—The Saxons in Britain—Saxon laws—Witchcraft—James I.—Witches put to death—Blackstone—British despotic laws—Meetings suppressed—Martial law—Vagrants put to death—Queen Bess—The common law suspended in England—Star-Chamber—Branding and cutting the ears off—The Sax-

ons conquered by the Danes—France—Saxons conquered by William—The Saxons reduced to slavery—The French language introduced into England by the Normans—The wars in Palestine—Portuguese—The British and American press—Ireland's struggles for liberty—Napoleon—Missionaries—The French and Spaniards—The English army in Spain—The Danish fleet—Hessians—Irish patriotism—The Irish of Maryland—The Declaration of Independence—Carroll of Carrollton—Irishmen in the American army—Emmett's epitaph—The hope of Ireland's freedom—Irish, not Anglo-Saxon.

British statesmen, the British press and British authors, have persistingly endeavored to impress on the world the idea of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race over all other races! That the Anglo-Saxon race is the parent of civilization. That England is the "cradle of liberty." The Americans, in a degree, have entertained and cherished the same idea from reading British history. In short, many of our public men, and literati, never let slip an opportunity to let us know that they are Anglo-Saxon Americans. England, when she failed in the war of 1812 to subjugate the United States, contented herself by impressing upon the Americans that they are cousins. Though a few years ago, the London *Times* said that the Americans were composed of "cheating Yankees, stupid Dutchmen, and beggarly Irish." But now they want to delude our American statesmen into a British alliance; when they find their power on the wane. Indeed, they have both abused and flattered the Americans, as policy dictated.

Let us review the ancient history of the world, and we behold what noble deeds were achieved before this Anglo-Saxon race left the woods of *Germania*. We behold the empires of Assyria and Babylon, the kingdoms of the Medes

and Persians, in flourishing splendor before the time of the so-called Anglo-Saxon civilization; we behold the Chaldean shepherds making vast and rapid strides in the progress of the noble science of astronomy. But they were not Anglo-Saxons. Were the Hebrew inspired writers Anglo-Saxons? Egypt, the cradle of civilization, arts and sciences, and letters; where we behold with wonder her monuments of ancient arts—her pyramids, artificial lakes, subterranean temples, and sphinx, ere the great Persian monarch Cambyses marched armies over the graves of her kings. But Egyptian civilization was not Anglo-Saxon. We read of the commerce and opulence of Tyre and Sidon—of the discoveries of Phœnicians and Carthagenians; but they were not Anglo-Saxon. Nimrod, a mighty warrior, and the first king, was not an Anglo-Saxon.

The Greeks, from being savages and barbarians, became noble workers of civilization—famous in the arts and sciences, poetry, and oratory—Greece was the land of the warrior and statesman; but they were not Anglo-Saxons. Cadmus, the Phœnician, who introduced letters into Greece; Cyrus and Alexander, mighty warriors; Solomon and Solon, the wisest of men; Josephus, Herodotus, Thucydides, Homer, Demosthenes, historians, poets and orators—were not Anglo-Saxons. Thebes had her hundred gates—Solomon's temple was built—Rome had her aqueducts, her Coliseum, her Catacombs, her Appian Way, her palaces and her temples, with a population of seven millions within her gates, when Caractacus was led naked through the streets of Rome.

A few shepherds collected on the banks of the *Tiber* and built the city of Rome. The disaffected from other

towns of Italy joined them—they laid the foundation of the mighty commonwealth. The Roman eagles were triumphant over the world, even to the four winds of heaven. Rome became the mistress of the world. She imparted to the barbarians her language, laws, customs and civilization. Where was then the Anglo-Saxon race? When the Roman legions landed in Britain they found not a civilized nation, but a band of untutored, naked savages, with their skins painted like the “first natives” of America! Carac-tacus, when led naked through the streets of Rome, could not but admire the splendor of the “Eternal City.” The Roman forum resounded with the voice of Cicero and with the classic beauty of his oratory. Cæsar and Pompey were warriors of renown, when the Saxon race was naked in the wilds of northern Europe; but they were not Anglo-Saxons! Hannibal marched his army over the frozen Alps; but he was not an Anglo-Saxon!

The Saxons were invited over by the Britons, as friends and allies, but they broke faith, and like true barbarians, turned their arms against the Britons and drove them to the mountains of Wales. They were broken up into petty clans—imbruing their hands in brothers’ blood—until subdued by one rival and successful prince. The history of the Anglo-Saxons is replete with cold-blooded murders, rapine, robbery, predatory war, infanticide, fratricide, and Punic faith! The Saxon laws were a bloody code—savage and cruel. A few extracts will prove this.

The English have landed the Saxon laws, liberty, and civilization to the skies. They have attempted to make the world believe that the Anglo-Saxons are the parents of civilization. The Americans, of New England extraction,

pride themselves on being Anglo-Americans, and, to cap the climax, we have the sublime Negro rejoicing in the new-fangled name of Anglo-African. Now, let us revert to some of the Anglo-Saxon laws, and we will find them barbarous and inhuman, and not reflecting much on the humanity and civilization of the Anglo-Saxons!

“If anyone took a stranger into his house for three nights, he made himself responsible for his acts—if he committed any crime, he became a pledge for him.”

If a man killed a guest, his death was compensated by paying eighty shillings; for killing the king \$300. For cutting off an ear, twelve shillings; “for striking out an eye, fifty shillings.” For a wound one inch long, one shilling. For violating the king’s maid-servant, fifty shillings. For adultery, the offender was to buy the husband another wife! “A thief who was caught in the act of stealing, might be killed with impunity if he attempted to escape.” A thief accused of theft was to lose a hand or foot; on a second conviction he was hanged. “None were to escape punishment who were above the age of twelve, or who stole above the value of twelve pence.” “The accomplices and aiders of thieves were subject to the same penalties as thieves themselves.” If a family were privy, they were all made slaves.

If an offender fled from justice, and was not found for thirty days, he was outlawed, and any one might kill him if he made resistance. An outlaw was called in Saxon, wolf’s-head, which meant that any one might kill him the same as a wild beast. Sacrilege was punished with the loss of the hand that had committed the offense. Any breach of the peace in a cathedral church incurred the penalty of

death. By a law of Alfred and Edgar, "a spreader of false reports was to lose his tongue." If any one was present at the death of a man, he was looked upon as "*particeps criminis*." By the law of Ina, who suffered a thief to escape was to pay the *were* or *forgyld* of the offender. Whoever suffered a thief to escape without making *hutesium et clamore*, was to suffer the punishment of the thief if he could not purge himself. Perjury was punished with the loss of the hands. Every member of a thithing was answerable for the good conduct of the rest. The ordeal called *Judicium Dei*, was performed by fire and water. The fire ordeal was performed by walking barefooted over a certain number of burning ploughshears, or by carrying a bar of red-hot iron in the hand for a certain distance. If the accused came off unhurt, he was declared innocent. By the water ordeal, the accused was tied hand and foot and thrown into a pool of water; if he floated he was pronounced guilty, if he sunk he was innocent. In performing the hot-water ordeal, the accused was to plunge his hands up to the wrist in boiling water.—Wilkin's collection of Anglo-Saxon laws.

Witchcraft was another peculiar institution of Anglo-Saxon civilization. Poor and decrepit wretches were put to death on the frivolous charge of conversing with the devil. To be old, poor, and infirm was enough to make one a witch. Persons suffered death on the charge of witchcraft, even in the time of Lord Hale.

"When James I. ascended the English throne, he unfortunately conceived it to be his duty immediately to illuminate the southerners on the subject of witchcraft. An act of the first year of his reign defines the crime with a

degree of minuteness worthy of the adept from whose pen it undoubtedly proceeded. 'Any one that shall use, practice, or exercise any invocation of any evil or wicked spirit, or consult or covenant with, entertain or employ, feed or reward, any evil or wicked spirit, *to or for any purpose*; or take up any dead man, &c., &c., &c.; such offenders, duly and lawfully convicted, and attainted, shall suffer death.' We have here witchcraft first distinctly made, of itself, a capital crime. Many years had not passed away after the passing of this statute, ere the delusion, which had heretofore committed but occasional and local mischief, became an epidemical frenzy, devastating every corner of England. Leaving out of sight simple executions, we find such wholesale murders as the following in abundance on the record:

"In 1612, twelve persons were condemned at once at Lancaster, and many more in 1613, when the whole kingdom rang with the fame of the 'Lancashire witches;' in 1622, six at York; in 1634, seventeen in Lancashire; in 1644, sixteen at Yarmouth; in 1645, fifteen at Chelmsford; and in 1645 and 1646, sixteen persons perished in Suffolk, and nearly an equal number at the same time in Huntingdon. These are but few selected cases. The poor creatures, who usually composed these ill-fated bands, are thus described by an able observer: 'An old woman with a wrinkled face, a furred brow, a hairy lip, a gobber tooth, a squint eye, a squaking voice, or a scolding tongue, having a ragged coat on her back, a spindle in her hand, and a dog by her side—a wretched, infirm and impotent creature, pelted and persecuted by all the neighborhood, because the farmer's cart had stuck in the gateway, or some idle boy had

pretended to split needles and pins for the sake of a holiday from school or work'—such were the poor unfortunates selected to undergo the last tests and tortures sanctioned by the law, and while tests were of a nature so severe that no one would have dreamed of inflicting them on the vilest of murderers. They were administered by a class of wretches, who, with one Matthew Hopkins at their head, sprung up in England in the middle of the seventeenth century, and took the professional name of *witchfinders*. The practices of the monster Hopkins, who with his assistants moved from place to place in the regular and authorized pursuits of his trade, will give a full idea of the tests referred to, as well as of the horrible fruits of the witchcraft frenzy in general. From each town which he visited, Hopkins exacted the stated fee of twenty shillings, and, in consideration thereof, he cleared the locality of all suspected persons, bringing them to confession and the stake in the following manner: He stripped them naked, shaved them, and thrust pins into their bodies to discover the witch mark; he wrapped them in sheets with the great toes and thumbs tied together, and dragged them through ponds or rivers, when, if they sank, it was held as a sign that the baptismal element did not reject them, and they were clear, but if they floated (as they usually would do for a while) they were then set down as guilty, and doomed; he kept them fasting and awake, and sometimes incessantly walking, for twenty-four or forty-eight hours, as an inducement to confession; and, in short, practiced on the accused such abominable cruelties that they were glad to escape from life by confession. If a witch could not shed tears at command (said the further items of this wretch's

creed), or if she hesitated at a single word in repeating the Lord's prayer, she was in league with the evil one. The results of these and such like tests were actually and universally admitted as evidence by the administrators of the law, who, acting upon them, condemned all who had the amazing constancy to hold out against the tortures inflicted. Few gave the courts that trouble. Butler has described Hopkins in his *Hudibras*, as one

'Fully empowered to treat about
Finding revolted witches out,
And has he not within this year
Hang'd *three score* of them in one shire?
Some only for not being drowned;
And some for sitting above ground.'

After he had murdered hundreds, and pursued his trade for many years (from 1644 downwards), the tide of popular opinion finally turned against Hopkins, and he was subjected, by a party of indignant experimenters, to his own favorite test of swimming. It is said that he escaped with life; but, from that time forth, he was never heard of again.

"The era of the Long Parliament was that, perhaps, which witnessed the greatest number of executions for witchcraft. *Three thousand persons* are said to have perished during the continuance of the sittings of that body, by legal executions, independently of summary deaths at the hands of the mob. Witch executions, however, were continued with nearly equal frequency long afterwards; one noted case occurred in 1664, when the enlightened and just Sir Matthew Hale tried and condemned two women, Amy Dunny and Rose Callender, at Saint Edmondsbury, for bewitching children, and other similar offenses. Some of the items of the charge may be mentioned: Being capriciously refused

some herrings, which they desired to purchase, the two old women expressed themselves in impatient language, and a child of the herring dealer soon after fell ill—in consequence. A carter drove his wagon against the cottage of Amy Dunny, and drew from her some not unnatural oburgations; immediately after which, the vehicle of the man stuck fast in a gate, without its wheels being impeded by either of the posts, and the unfortunate Amy was credited with the accidents. Such accusations formed the burden of the ditty, in addition to the bewitching of the children. These young accusers were produced in court, and, on being touched by the old women, fell into fits. But, on their eyes being covered, they were thrown into the same convulsions by other parties, precisely in the same way. In the face of this palpable proof of imposture, and despite the general absurdity of the charges, Sir Matthew Hale committed Amy Dunny and Rose Callender to the tender mercies of the hangman.” * * * “In 1711, Chief Justice Powell presided at a trial where an old woman was pronounced guilty. The judge, who had sneered openly at the whole proceedings, asked the jury if they found the woman ‘guilty upon the indictment of conversing with the devil in the shape of a cat?’ The reply was, ‘We do find her guilty of that;’ but the question of the judge produced its intended effect, in casting ridicule on the whole charge, and the woman was pardoned. An able writer in the Foreign Quarterly Review remarks, after noticing this case, ‘Yet, frightful to think, after all this, in 1716, Mrs. Hicks and her daughter, aged *nine*, were hanged at Huntingdon, for selling their souls to the devil, and raising a storm by pulling off their stockings and making a

lather of soap! With this crowning atrocity, the catalogue of murders in England closes.' And a long catalogue, and a black catalogue it was. Barrington, in his observations on the statute of Henry VII., does not hesitate to estimate the numbers of those put to death in England, on this charge, at thirty thousand!"—Chambers' Information for the People, vol. 2, pp. 331–2.

33 Henry VIII., C. 12, maliciously striking in the king's palace, wherein his royal person resides, whereby blood is drawn, is punishable by perpetual imprisonment, and a fine at the king's pleasure; and also with loss of the offender's right hand, the solemn execution of which sentence is prescribed in the statute at length.—Blackstone, vol. 4, p. 124.

The statute 8 Elizabeth, C. 3, makes the "embarking of sheep on board of any ship," imprisonment for one year, "and at the end of the year to have the left hand cut off in some public market, and shall be there nailed up in the openest place."—Blackstone, vol. 4, p. 154.

Even in Blackstone's time it was death to break down the mound of a fish-pond, "whereby any fish shall escape; or to cut down a cherry-tree in an orchard."—Blackstone, vol. 4, p. 3.

In the Isle of Man, to steal a pig or fowl was punished with death.—Blackstone, vol. 4, p. 16.

The statute 4 George II., C. 32, to steal turnips, potatoes, cabbages, parsnips, peas, or carrots, was punished with a fine and whipping.—Blackstone, vol. 4, p. 233.

It was necessary to have a freehold estate worth one hundred pounds per annum to be privileged to kill a partridge.—Blackstone, vol. 4, p. 175.

The statute 5 George III., C. 14, the penalty of transpor-

tation was inflicted, for seven years, for stealing or taking a fish.—Blackstone, vol. 4, p. 236.

“The slaughter of a beast was made almost as penal as the death of a man.”—Blackstone, vol. 4, p. 415.

By the laws of the old Britons, a woman was burned for the murder of her husband.—Blackstone, vol. 4, p. 203.

The punishments were “mutilation or dismembering, by cutting off the hands or ears; others fix a lasting stigma on the offender, by slitting the nostrils, or branding in the hand or cheek, * * whipping, hard labor in the house of correction or otherwise, the pillory, the stocks, and the ducking stool.”—Blackstone, vol. 4, p. 376.

Yet, Blackstone speaks of the glory and wisdom of the English law.—Blackstone, vol. 4, p. 17.

* * “The court must pronounce that judgment which the law hath annexed to the crime,” * * “which extend to the life of the offender, and consist generally in being hanged by the neck till dead, though in very atrocious crimes other circumstances of terror, pain, or disgrace are superadded; as in treason of all kinds, being drawn or dragged to the place of execution; in high treason, affecting the king’s person or government, emboweling alive, beheading, and quartering; and in murder a public dissection. And, in case of any treason committed by a female, the judgment is to be burned alive.”—Blackstone, vol. 4, p. 376.

We will here insert a few brief extracts from Hallam’s Constitutional History of England, to show the despotism of British monarchs, in the so-called land of English freedom, shown towards their own people.

This ought to teach the liberal English the curse of monarchy in all ages. They see that the yoke of despotism

was on their own necks as well as on the necks of the Irish. This should teach them the importance of abolishing kingly power and of establishing an English Republic!

“Even the king’s clemency seems to have been influenced by the sordid motive of selling pardons; and it has been shown that he made a profit of every office in his country, and received money for conferring bishopricks.”—Hallam’s Constitutional History of England, page 20.

“A single suspicion in the dark bosom of Henry VIII., a single cloud of wayward humor in his son, would have been sufficient to send the proudest peer of England to the dungeon and the scaffold.”—Hallam’s Constitutional History of England, p. 43.

Speaking of the courts of law in the reign of Elizabeth, the same candid author says, thus:

“I have found it impossible not to anticipate, in more places than one, some of those glaring transgressions of natural as well as positive law, that rendered our courts of justice, in cases of treason, little better than caverns of murderers. Whoever was arraigned at this bar, was almost certain to meet a virulent prosecutor, a judge hardly distinguishable from the prosecutor except by his ermine, and a passive, pusillanimous jury.”—Hallam’s Constitutional History of England, p. 139.

The reign of Queen Elizabeth is also famous, in the annals of English history, for the institution of martial law, to punish the poor and needy, and the homeless stranger.

“No other measure of Elizabeth’s reign can be compared, in point of violence and illegality, to a Commission in July, 1595, directed to Sir Thomas Wilford, whereby, upon no other allegation than that there had been of late sundry

great unlawful assemblies of a number of base people in a riotous sort, both in the city of London and the suburbs, for the suppression whereof (for that the insolency of many desperate offenders is such, that they care not for any ordinary punishment by imprisonment) it was found necessary to have some such notable rebellious persons to be speedily suppressed by execution to death, according to the justice of martial law, 'he is appointed Provost Marshal, with authority, on notice by the magistrates, to attach and seize such notable rebellious and incorrigible offenders, and in the presence of the magistrates to execute them openly on the gallows.' The commission empowers him, also, 'to repair to all common high-ways near to the city, which any vagrant persons do haunt, and, with the assistance of justices and constables, to apprehend all such vagrant and suspected persons, and them to deliver to the said justices, by them to be committed and examined of the causes of their wandering, and finding them notoriously culpable in their unlawful manner of life, as incorrigible, and so certified by the said justices, to cause to be executed upon the gallows or gibbet some of them that are so found most notorious and incorrigible offenders; and some such, also, of them as have manifestly broken the peace, since they have been adjudged and condemned to death for former offenses, and had the queen's pardon for the same.'—Hallam's Constitutional History of England, pp. 143-4.

Here we have from competent evidence the cruelty of "good queen Elizabeth," suspending the common law of England that she may, by her barbarous edict, which is unparalleled in ancient and modern history, execute on the gallows, on the mere certificate of a justice of the peace, all

persons about London suspected of vagrancy—all poor persons to be butchered in cold blood!

What wonder that England has persecuted Ireland, when we behold an English queen ordering the butchery of Englishmen because they were poor. Oh! the boasted cradle of liberty. The noble Anglo-Saxon race! Oh! horrors hail! When will such hypocrisy end? When will this cant about the cradle of liberty cease? When England is a Republic!

We have the evidence of this impartial writer on the despotism of the Star-Chamber:

“It was held competent for the court to adjudge any punishment short of death. Fine and imprisonment were of course the most usual. The pillory, whipping, branding, and cutting off the ears, grew into use by degrees.”—Hallam’s Constitutional History of England, p. 257.

“One man was fined and set in the pillory for engrossing corn, though he only kept what grew on his own land.”—Hallam’s Constitutional History of England, p. 257.

Had we not such undoubted authority before us we could not believe that an English court would punish a man in the pillory for simply holding over his corn until he got a better price for his grain—the produce of his labor. This is the record of the land of freedom. What would one of our farmers think if his ears were cut off for a like offense?

The Saxon people were divided into freemen and slaves. Her slaves or villains, were in the lowest state of degradation, being bought and sold with the land. They were not considered any better than cattle.—Vide Dr. Wilkin’s Collection of Anglo-Saxon Laws.

It was death to cut down the mounds of a fish-pond, or to cut a cherry tree!

It was lawful not only for a husband to whip his wife, but he could sell her, the same as his horse or ox!

The hardy Scandinavian pirates conquered the Saxons and lorded it over them, until under Alfred (who got his education in the mountains of Connaught, and there acquired a knowledge of trial by jury, the greatest bulwark of human liberty), they again recovered their lost liberty.

Babylon had her walls, canals, hanging gardens, magnificent temples, while Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrian empire, flourished before the Anglo-Saxons.

Mohammed, a mighty warrior, had subdued the east; his followers passed over into Europe, where they were defeated by the immortal Charles Martel; but he was not an Anglo-Saxon.

The Celtic Frenchman subdued the Saxons in one decisive battle, and put a saddle on the Saxon's back, which he never got off; but they were not the Anglo-Saxons!

The Norman lords reduced the Saxon villains to slavery—they were bought and sold with the lands as a chattel—they had to perform the most abject and degrading work—and while the Norman nobleman lived in splendor. The Saxon cowherd fed the flocks for his Norman master. The French language was spoken, in the churches, in the schools, and in the courts of law. "Jack would be a gentleman if he could speak French."

It was the Plantagenets who carried the cross of St. George into the fields of Palestine! It was the Norman English who made war on France, gaining many brilliant victories. It was the Norman English who conquered

Wales and Scotland and invaded Ireland, without a standing army, public debt, or paper money, bribery or corruption; they were not Anglo-Saxons.

The Portuguese discovered the vast continent of Africa; the rich and fertile Indies; Columbus discovered America, and Magellan sailed around the world. Where were then your Anglo-Saxons?

The Portuguese, Spaniards and French made vast strides in their discoveries in the New World, while the Anglo-Saxons were buried in ignorance. Euclid, Givias, (an Italian, who invented the mariner's compass, in the fourteenth century,) Raphaël and Angelo, the greatest masters in painting, Des Cartes, the famous French philosopher, and Galileo, the distinguished Italian astronomer, were not Anglo-Saxons. Charlemagne, Tamerlane, and Genghis Kahn, were not Anglo-Saxons. The clouds of darkness which hung like the pall of death over Europe, after the fall of the Roman Empire (476), was dispelled by the revival of the Greek and Roman classics; the science of arithmetic and algebra was introduced into Europe by the Moors; but it was not the work of Anglo-Saxons!

The perfidious, cold-hearted and bloody Saxons robbed and oppressed the Irish, and then taunted them with their poverty. They banished the school-master and sent him "abroad," and then reviled the Irish and said they were ignorant. The lying anti-Irish bigots have availed themselves of every opportunity to slander the Irish, in poetry, periodicals, and newspapers, almanacs, and in low comedies. "The mercenary press which they pay, does exhibit, I think, a little too much contempt for the English understanding. The *Courier*, for example, begins the week with

some egregious lie or other; the writers are aware that its falsehood will be discovered by Thursday; but on Thursday they are prepared with a second lie, which will last till Saturday, when lie the third is coined; and the English—the most *thinking* English—swallow with the same unabating credulity, the first, second, and third of these lies, and are prepared to commence the ensuing week with an unabated appetite for falsehood!”—O’Connell’s Speeches, vol. 1, pages 218–19. Their American cousins have copied from England, and even some Americans are as abusive and slanderous as the English Anglo-Saxons!

We hear, on this side of the Atlantic, by our so-called Anglo-Americans, who cousinize with England, that we have inherited from England our laws, language, and religion. It is painful to witness the vile slang against Irishmen, in this country, in family newspapers, and nearly in every almanac. This is one of the causes which makes Irishmen so unpopular in this country. Lying British writers, and their toady worshippers on this side of the Atlantic, have caused all of this. Irishmen should impress on the minds of the youth that it is no disgrace to be an Irishman. That a respectable, educated, and moral Irishman is the peer of any man. Irishmen should never say anything disparagingly of their dear old country. They should never feel ashamed of the land of their birth, which has struggled seven centuries against British tyranny. When we look back at the powerful nations of antiquity that succumbed to the conqueror, Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, Carthage, England, Wales and Scotland, we cannot but admire the indomitable and noble spirit of the Irish Celtic race, struggling for liberty, after years of bondage

and slaughter. No wonder we would exclaim "God save poor Ireland."

Napoleon rose from being a corporal to be the arbiter of Europe, who handled crowns as so many toys. The splendor of his achievements dazzled Europe; but he was not an Anglo-Saxon.

The French missionary fathers who explored the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, and the vast empire of North America—Cortez and Pizarro, whose noble deeds are more romantic than romance itself—they were not Anglo-Saxons.

England has acted the pirate in seizing by force and vile fraud the foreign possessions of other European powers. She has acted the highwayman of Europe. She has broken faith whenever she could do so with impunity. While her armies were in Spain she blew up Spanish factories, so as to weaken the power of Spain. She has aided and abetted the Spaniards of the new world to revolt from the mother country, so that she could destroy the Spanish empire and have a monopoly of the trade of South America.

O'Connell, speaking of the rapacity of the British government, says:

"For a specimen of their morality, take a few transactions of this war—a war carried on for the preservation of justice, social order, and religion! Well, in this just and religious war, the English attack, plunder and murder a people with whom they are then at peace! Without a shadow of any provocation, they, in the midst of peace, steal the Danish fleet, burn the Danish capital, and massacre, even to the infants in her foundling hospital! But this is not all. This atrocious crime for which England will be ever execrated, and will, probably, be punished—this

atrocious crime is now followed by a formal treaty with Sweden by which England sanctions the robbery of an entire kingdom. Sweden has no more right to Norway than Napoleon to London; yet the English give her Norway! What would they say if Napoleon were now to make a present of Ireland? Sweden is the good ally of England. Such good friends ought to make near neighbors; and Ireland would, I think, suit Swedish purposes as well as Norway. Such is the morality of England, that she has afforded the example that would justify the transfer of her own dominions to foreigners."—O'Connell's Speeches, vol. 1, p. 214.

No wonder Napoleon Bonaparte should call the English: "A nation of shop-keepers and traders, who were ready to sacrifice conscience, honor, and everything else for the sake of pounds, shillings and pence. They regulate their principles according to their interest, and, unlike the French, they never fight for an idea, nor disinterestedly championed for the cause of the oppressed." The brave Lafayette left the splendor and magnificence of Paris to share in the hardships of Democratic America, in the cause of liberty; he was not an Anglo-Saxon. Louis XVI. furnished an army, a navy, money and clothing for the cause of American liberty; he was not an Anglo-Saxon.

The barbarous and slavish Hessians fought against American liberty; *they were of the Saxon race!*

The heroic Richard Montgomery, who fought and bled at Quebec, was a noble Irishman. Generals Stark, Sullivan, Wayne, Conway, and Commodore Jack Barry, the father of the American navy, were Irishmen and Irish-Americans. Governor Sullivan, of Massachusetts, who projected the

Middlesex canal, was an Irish-American. Governor Clinton, who projected the Erie Canal, was also an Irish-American. Robert Fulton, who ran the first steamboat, in France and the United States, even in the world, was an Irish-American.

The Irish Catholics in Maryland were the first people in the world to proclaim universal liberty of conscience! they were not Anglo-Saxons.

What is the Declaration of Independence but an exemplification of the ideas of Molyneux and Lucas. The Declaration of Independence, the great charter of human rights, was first signed by Carroll of Carrollton. We find eminent Irishmen in the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States. We find able and eminent Irish-Americans in the great councils of the nation. The most eminent luminaries of the American bar are Irish-Americans. The Emmetts, the O'Connors, and O'Gormans. In the war of 1812, the brave Commodore McDonnough gained signal and important victories, on the Lakes. Irish blood flowed in the cause of America. The brave, noble, and patriotic Jackson whipped the "Britishers" at New Orleans; James Shields, the Sarsfield of America, maintained the fame of the Irish who fought at Fontenoy, by his noble deeds, on the plains of Mexico. But they were not Anglo-Saxons. But in the recent rebellion, which was in the hands of the old Puritans, who always hold Irishmen and everything Irish in contempt, the Puritans did not want to promote Irishmen, but they wanted them to do the fighting and marching, while the Radicals had the sole monopoly of the offices, civil and military, fat army contracts, and the commissary department. They would not promote General Shields, the only man who whipped Stonewall

Jackson; but they promoted Mulligan after his death! It is pleasing to behold so many Irishmen filling important offices of trust and honor—to see so many possessing broad acres and occupying the field of commerce with merchant princes. But this should not be the only ambition of Irishmen.

Neither is it to wear the robes of the senator, nor the ermine of the judge, nor to become a millionaire, and to live retired in a palatial residence. For an Irishman will not be duly respected while his country is under the iron hoof of despotism. The holiest and noblest ambition of an Irishman is to see the glorious Sun-burst emblazoned on the immortal green flag floating over the Castle of Dublin. “The green above the red.”

To have Ireland take her place among the nations of the earth—Then Emmett’s epitaph can be written. Let no Irishman ever despair of the freedom of his country.

The Irish-Americans should oppose British influence in this country. There seems to be a mania with some flunkies to adopt British laws, customs, and prejudices on this side of the Atlantic. The Irish should avoid those toadies and flunkies.

How pleasing it is to see an Irish family with the map of old Ireland, the history of Ireland, the poetical works of Moore, the easy numbers of Goldsmith, the classic speeches of Burke, and the patriotic writings of Swift, Molyneux, Lucas, Grattan, Curran, O’Connell, Meagher, Mitchell, Duffy and Barrington. Irish-Americans who read such works both love Ireland and hate English despotism. Irishmen on this side of the Atlantic will yet cripple the power of England, and give the British lion a deadly wound. The

storm of war is gathering thick and fast around the shores of old England!

"The banners of all nations are unfurled,
She has one foe and that one foe the world."

England's downfall is at hand. Her troubles are augmented by her own sons. Her only hope—a Republic!

"Her very children watch for her disgrace—
A lawless crew, and curse her to her face."

As England descends in the scale of nations, Ireland's star will then shine more resplendent.

"Erin, oh, Erin, tho' long in the shade,
Thy star shall shine out when the proudest shall fade."

Providence will reward the Irish for their great struggles against the powers of England, for seven hundred years. The Anglo-Saxons prefer ease under despotism—they barter their liberty for paltry wealth; but Irishmen will never submit to despotism—their sole pride is to see their country free and England reduced to a fifth-rate power, unless she does justice to Ireland and establish a Republic; then Irishmen will forget the past.

Yes, Irishmen can never cease their opposition to England until they have revenge for the years of bondage and slaughter which England has inflicted upon Ireland. Let us hope on, hope ever, for the freedom of our country! We say again, let the government of England do justice to Ireland, and Irishmen will forget the past.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE ALABAMA CLAIMS—BRITISH DEPREDACTIONS ON AMERICAN COMMERCE.

The British government jealous of American prosperity—The Tory party in England hostile to Republics—"Orders in Council"—The right of search—English war vessels search American vessels—Insults to the American flag—The Federal party—The "dominion"—The war of 1812—The Hartford Convention—Jackson at New Orleans—Decline of the Federal party—The Whig party—The Prince of Wales—British privateers—Depredations on American commerce—England prolonged the recent war—Burning of the *Caroline*—England violates the neutrality laws—England violated the treaty of 1783—Military posts—England incites Indians to murder Americans—Fenians—The Red River affair—Claim for the burning of the *Caroline*—British possessions must be given to the United States—The United States must own all of North America—British gold—The High Commission—Codfish aristocracy—England has no just right to her possessions in North America—Mexico—Grant's administration.

Great Britain has, since the Americans gained their independence, been jealous of the growing prosperity of the United States. Her commercial greatness has interfered with the monopoly of England, which has been a source of displeasure to British merchants on the other side of the ocean. The Tory party in England has always shown both secret and open enmity toward all republics, but especially that of the United States. The British government, of the "high Tory school," never let slip an opportunity to cripple American commerce, as her darling policy has always been monopoly; to make all the nations of the earth subservient to her factories and work-shops, her looms

and cotton goods. In 1809, the government of England passed the infamous "Orders in Council," preventing America, then a neutral and friendly power, at peace with both France and England, from trading to the ports of France. This was in violation of the law of nations. Her war ships seized, captured and condemned American vessels for disobeying those orders, in violation of the public law of Europe. Since 1803, several American vessels had been captured by British war vessels. England also claimed the right of searching American war ships, contrary to the law of nations. An English war ship, Leopard, attacked and boarded an American war frigate, the Chesapeake, on the high seas; many of the men on board were killed or wounded. This outrage took place within a few miles of the American coast, in defiance of the American flag; the British officers took therefrom four men—thus showing great contempt for the Republic of the United States, and the law of nations and the rights of neutral powers.

In 1809, the British government, by its agent and suppliant instrument, Sir James Craig, Governor of Canada, sent one John Henry to intrigue with the leaders of the Federal party, in New England, to sever the New England States from the Union, and unite the same with Canada and the other British possessions of North America, as a new kingdom on this continent; as a "Dominion," to be ruled by a scion of the House of Brunswick!

This and various other causes led to the war of 1812.

During that eventful war, England made a free use of the Tory Blue Light Federalists of New England, who abetted and aided the government of England. They met in convention at Hartford, December 14, 1814, and passed in-

famous and treasonable resolutions. They hoisted the "five striped flag" and the "black cockade." Their cry was then the Potomac the boundary, and the slave States by themselves; the Alleghanies the boundary, the savages by themselves. But Jackson, who showed the British soldiers the use of cotton and gunpowder, gained over them a decisive victory at New Orleans; and England had to relinquish her policy and monopoly, and silently waited for an opportunity to depredate on American commerce.

The Blue Light Federalists became odious. They dropped their party name, and assumed the more plausible and seductive name of Whig; but on the defeat of that party, they hoisted the Republican banner and changed their name. England, finding that she could not conquer America, resorted to fraud and division. Her press encouraged the political warfare between the extremists of the North and South, and by such means brought on the recent war between the States. She fed and fostered and encouraged the sectional party here that brought on the war—her hopes being to dissolve the Union. To dazzle the eyes of the aristocracy of the United States, and prepare the way for the "Dominion," she sent over the Prince of Wales to make a tour through Canada and the United States. For the purpose of injuring the United States and to establish the new kingdom of Canada, she built the *Grand Trunk Railroad* to connect the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific, as a channel for the commerce of the East Indies, China, Japan, and Australia! Her favorite design has always been to sever the Northern and Southern States. That after the States had a couple of civil wars they would gladly come under the rule of the House

of Guelph—so that England would have a powerful ally on the continent of America.

The South would not have raised the standard of rebellion but for the encouragement given by England. England also prolonged the war by her blockade runners; the negotiation of Southern bonds; the moral influence of the British press; supplies of arms and munitions of war; the destruction of American commerce by piratical ships; and by prolonging the war, which cost the sacrifice of thousands of lives North and South, East and West, and the creation of a mountain of debt, which bears hard on the industry of the people.

While the Alabama was building in an English ship-yard, it was a matter of public notoriety that she was intended for Jeff. Davis' government. The American Minister at London, and the American Consul at Liverpool, both protested against having her leave on her piratical mission. Yet she was allowed to depart, and was five days at sea before orders were given to prevent her departure from the British port. She was allowed to enter British ports in Wales and Jamaica to take in supplies. Her crew were from the "royal naval reserves." Her arms and naval supplies were British. Even in the House of Commons this act was cheered by the members, who wished to annihilate the Republic of the United States. John Bright denounced this act of the Tory government in the following language, thus: "We supply the ships; we supply the arms, the munitions of war; we give aid and comfort to the foulest of crimes. Englishmen only do it."

This act of the government was deemed unlawful by eminent English statesmen and jurists.

Probably the amount of individual losses will amount to about \$30,000,000, besides the damage done to American commerce by transferring the American carrying trade to British merchants. An Englishman makes the following confession, thus :

“ Were we the sufferers, we should certainly demand compensation for the loss of the property captured or destroyed, for the interest of the capital invested in the vessels and their cargoes, and, maybe, a fair compensation in addition for all and any injury accruing to our business interests from the depredations upon our shipping.”

We should receive compensation for the loss which accrued in consequence of the exorbitant rise of insurance of American vessels—in consequence of the additional rise in consequence of British piratical vessels; the loss of the carrying trade; the diminution of American tonnage; the diminution of exports and imports; for the transfer of American carrying trade to British merchants. The amount of money expended in prolonging the war; compensation for the life of our soldiers during the war; the amount expended in arms and munitions of war by land and sea; the amount paid to the army and navy, both in pay and pensions; this, and the insult to the national flag should be paid, sooner or later. By the aid thus rendered by the government of England to the Confederates, the American war was prolonged for three years. England should pay the whole expense of the war those three years, which can be figured up at the war office at Washington. No impartial mind will deny that the war was made on the United States from the shores of England. Indeed, it would be better for the United States that England had

joined the rebellion, as it would unite north and south and the war would have ended sooner.

In 1837, while the patriots in Canada were fighting for independence, the President of the United States, Van Buren, and the Governor of New York, had issued proclamations enjoining strict neutrality. Notwithstanding all this, a party of armed men from the Canadian side came over on the American shore and cut from her moorings the steamboat *Caroline*, and set her on fire and then sent her over the falls of Niagara. This was reciprocating the good faith of the United States with a vengeance. This was the way England observed the neutrality laws.

This was not the only instance of the bad faith of the government of England toward the United States, for, notwithstanding the terms of the treaty of peace of 1783, England refused to deliver up certain military posts in the west; and held for a long time a large portion of the western country, contrary to the terms of the said treaty. England also incited, aided, and abetted the murderous Indians in the west to commit wholesale massacres on the whites on the frontier; and sheltered them in her forts while they perpetrated their fierce and bloody deeds of midnight slaughter and desolation!

In 1866 and 1870, the government of the United States prevented the Fenians from invading Canada. In 1870 the United States permitted British armed vessels to sail through the Sault St. Marie canal, on their way to make war on the half-breeds of the Red River. Yet, in the very same year, 1870, the Canadian government prevented the United States troops from passing through the Canadian canals. The British government has never compensated or

given satisfaction for the burning of the *Caroline*. This claim and insult should be added to the Alabama and other claims, which must be paid, unless Grant turns traitor.

The United States ought not to take anything less, in satisfaction of those claims, than all the British possessions of North America, including the British West India possessions. This is not unjust or unreasonable. For it is better for England to yield up those possessions, as she will have enough to do to take care of her other possessions in other parts of the globe. The United States should enforce the Monroe doctrine north and south—in Canada as well as in Mexico. The United States cannot tolerate monarchy on the continent of North America, for her manifest destiny is the “Ocean bound Republic”—“From polar seas to torrid climes”—From the Iceland moss to the orange groves of the south! America should make war on monarchy all over the world!

The destiny of the United States is to govern, first, the continent of North America, and, next, the whole American continent from the Northern to the Southern Ocean, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The future capital of the United States will be on the very spot where stood the palace of Montezuma. If Grant and the Senate should be so base as to ratify the treaty made by the present commission, it will be one of the meanest, weakest, and most contemptible acts of folly and national and individual cowardice known in the history of the United States. It will be far more odious than the acts of the Blue Light Federalists, or the Tories of the Revolution of 1776! For then, many of the Tories were educated to believe in the “divine right of kings.” But Grant and many of the leading Republi-

cans have been educated to ridicule this idea as absurd. How many Radicals have listened to the seductive and charming *influence of British lords*. Now we find many of the Radicals opposed to making war on England. But Grant, at least, should remember that he was raised to his present position for no other qualification than that he had been a Union general. He knows that British arms and gunpowder were employed to maim and murder Union soldiers. If for no other reason he should not give his sanction to such a settlement of the Alabama claims as would make the Queen of England, the President of Switzerland, the King of Italy, the King of Denmark, or even the Great Bear of Russia, arbiters in the affairs of America, whether in the Alabama claims or any other question. We do not want foreign interference. What have the monarchs of Europe to do in this matter? Why should not England pay these just claims. A few years ago, she was red hot for war; now, when she finds herself in danger of being involved in a European war, she wants to make some kind of a bogus settlement. She wants to *dodge* the question. But we may here remark that there has been always, in the United States, a party who admire the British Constitution, with kings, lords and commons. Those weak-minded flunkies have, at all times, lionized everything British, everything pertaining to monarchy. For some brainless fool with little or no cash in his pockets, can get wined and dined by the American codfish and shoddy aristocracy; by men who would whip a flea from Maine to Georgia for a dollar! This class will never want to make war on England. Those who proclaim it on the "house-tops," the great honor, glory, and renown of the Anglo-Saxon

race will never want to make war on England. Those who tell us that America has inherited her language, laws, customs, religion and civilization from the "cradle of liberty," will not want to make war on England. Those whose only god is the almighty dollar, who would barter the liberty of the world for British gold, will never want to make war on England. The only party that will ever make war on England is the party that always advocated the rights of the people—that party of the Jeffersonian and Jackson school. The radical party will do nothing without filthy lucre, and the spoils of office and political plunder. They care little for country or party unless they see something more substantial than mere glory, honor or patriotism. They want something more for the comfort of the "inner man," and a share of this world's goods.

They want gold, gold. Well, the government of England has been always lavish in the expenditure of corruption funds. It is to be hoped that British gold will not be able to control the adjudication of the Alabama claims. But the great mass of the American people should never feel satisfied unless the United States get the whole of the British possessions of North America, including the islands of the seas. Nature has formed the continent of North America for one government. What is the use of the term "The United States of America," unless it embraces the whole continent? This is the spirit of the *Monroe doctrine*. What title can England show for her possessions in America? Where are her title-deeds? Let history answer. The strong arm of the conqueror. Her possessions in North America belonged to other nations by the right of discovery. England has taken these countries away by

brute force. Then as a matter of right the United States have a better title to those countries than England. For nature has formed the United States for a great nation. Look at the map of North America, and it presents the appearance of one great country. Its shores are washed by the greatest oceans in the world; its interior is connected by ample rivers and fresh water lakes. The great American rivers, the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, connect the interior with the gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic ocean. These rivers are fed by the snows of the Rocky Mountains. Thomas H. Benton once said that the United States owned all the waters of the Mississippi; we may now also say that we own all the waters of the great lakes and their outlets, which would include the valley of the St. Lawrence. The United States should own all the country between Alaska and Washington Territory.

The people of the other countries and the inhabitants of the islands of the sea, are anxious to be annexed to the Republic of America. Mexico will in due time be annexed. In ten years from March the 4th, 1873, the American flag will float over every fort in North America, and the "*islands of the sea.*" It is to be hoped that the present Congress will not ratify any treaty that does not concede and embrace all of this. It is better for the English and other immigrants, and for the toiling millions of Canada, that the United States should own the whole continent. For it would give more employment to those who toil for a living in building new towns and cities and public works. It would also be throwing out a bone to worn-out and hungry politicians who could get territorial offices. For instance, Mexico is large enough for twelve new States.

Oh, what a field for silver speculations! If the United States owned Mexico, the silver mines of that country would soon pay off the public debt. Again, we say that the Grant administration will be held responsible by the American people, for the settlement of the Alabama claims, at the ballot box. There will be a *Presidential election* in 1872. The people will hold the party in power to a strict accountability for the settlement of this question. Can the Senate dodge this question? No, for the people have passed on this question already. They understand it. It will not do to trifle with the people. It will never do to call in the tyrants of Europe to settle the claims of the United States against England. The people can govern themselves. We repeat once more, that there will be a presidential election in 1872. Politicians, beware!

ERRATA.

- Page 6, line 18 from top, for she read "England."
Page 18, line 1 from top, for Dermond read "Desmond."
Page 18, lines 11 and 24 from top, for Dermond read "Dermod."
Page 26, line 3 from top, for her read "its."
Page 29, line 1 from top, for has read "have."
Page 32, line 8 from top, for her read "England."
Page 41, line 21 from top, for whatever read "which."
Page 52, line 28 from top, for they read "she."
Page 57, line 6, from top, for Jailors read "Jailers."
Page 82, line 3 from top, for midnight read "day."
Page 83, line 12 from top, for her read "the."
Page 83, line 27 from top, for Dermond read "Dermod."
Page 86, line 3 from top, for are read "is."
Page 99, lines 11 and 13 from top, for wrought read "wrung."
Page 105, line 15 from top, after we, omit "will."
Page 112, line 3 from top, after test omit "of."
Page 113, line 5 from top, for her read "its."
Page 234, line 10 from bottom, for goes read "go."
Page 230, line 19 from top, for her read "its."
Page 322, line 5 from top, for her read "English."
Page 325, line 27 from top, after war, read "for."

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